ACCESS OF WOMEN TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN UGANDA: AN ANALYSIS OF INEQUALITIES, BARRIERS AND DETERMINANTS

JOY CONSTANCE KWESIGA

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

February 1993

No race or people can rise half-slave, half-free. The surest way to keep a people down is to educate the men and neglect the women. If you educate a man you simply educate an individual, but if you educate a woman you educate a family.

(Dr. J. E. K. Aggrey, cited by Smith, 1929, p. 139)

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late father, Andereya Mafigiri, who, despite the overwhelming problems facing a rural-based African father, never showed any preference to educate his sons over his daughters.

ABSTRACT

The study analyses factors affecting women's access to higher education in Uganda, where women are under-represented at all levels of education, as students, teachers, and managers. This reflects women's low status in Ugandan society. The conceptual framework is derived from literature covering Women in Development, the human capital concept of investment in education, the indirect benefits of educating women, and social theories of gender inequality. Literature on general educational access factors, mainly focusing on Sub-Saharan Africa is reviewed, using Hyde's (1991) three-fold classification of family, societal, and institutional factors.

A sample of four primary schools, sixteen advanced level secondary schools and eleven higher education institutions provided empirical data. A cross-section of over 600 Ugandan students, teachers in secondary schools and higher education institutions, political and civic leaders and parents responded to questionnaires. Decision-makers at sample institutions and the Ministry of Education headquarters were interviewed, and documentary analysis also covered official reports, documents and records, previous research and the mass media. Although focus is on the higher education level, lower levels are investigated to provide insight into causes of diminishing numbers of female students as one climbs the educational ladder.

The central conclusion is that the family, society and the state in Uganda act as if they are constantly weighing the profitability of investing in boys' or girls' education, albeit not in the conventional way of measuring earnings of educated workers, but rather assessing the future functional value of the individual. Lower status within the family structure, lower perceived social value, exacerbated by general economic constraints and inadequate educational structures make girls' education, particularly higher education, appear less profitable than that of boys. This obscures the indirect benefits that families and society would reap from higher rates of female participation in education.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Many more people than I am able to mention here have contributed to this study, and some of them have, unfortunately, to be thanked collectively as "all those persons who rendered assistance in some form or other". However, some individuals and organisations deserve special acknowledgement.

First, I wish to express my heart-felt gratitude to my supervisors, Maureen Woodhall and Professor Angela Little. Their two minds enabled me to emerge from, and analytically organise, the mass of data under which I seemed to be constantly buried. Their insight helped to realistically tame my over-enthusiasm of wanting to tackle every obstacle in the way of women's attainment of higher education in Uganda. I will always appreciate their concern, reflected in the extent to which they were able to collect relevant literature for me, whether they were on *safari* or at their regular stations. I also thank them for their recognition of my tight programme each time I was in residence at the Institute, and their endeavours to fit into it, in spite of busy schedules, so as to enable me to keep to deadlines. I would particularly like to thank Miss Woodhall, my main supervisor, for combining her official role with that of being my fund-raiser. It is through her committed support and demonstration of confidence in me, that I was able to obtain funding from various sponsors. I benefited from suggestions by Dr Carew Treffgarne and Dr Diana Leonard, both from the Institute of Education, and I wish to thank them for taking off time to think about my work.

I am grateful to a number of donors for the financial assistance which has enabled me to carry out this study. The main grant came from The Ford Foundation and The Kulika Charitable Trust. I also received support to cover varied aspects of my programme from The British Council, Kampala Office, The Africa Educational Trust, The Mountbatten Memorial Trust, The Christopher Cox Memorial Trust and Makerere University. The Kulika Charitable Trust grant rescued me when it became clear that I had underestimated the amount of time required to complete this work, and I would like to thank Brian Evans for patiently handling my requests for supplementary maintenance expenses.

In the course of searching for funds, I met many sympathetic and helpful officials, some of whom chose to trust me at the beginning of my study, when the end of the road was clearly remote. Among them are Peter Bird of The Africa Educational Trust, and Lloyd Mullen, formerly of The British Council, Kampala

Office. It was through such trust that Ken Jessop of the International Organisation for Migration positively responded to my application for a personal computer, which became very handy during my work in Uganda. I have to pay special tribute to Diana Morris, former Programme Officer at The Ford Foundation, Eastern Africa Office in Nairobi. While others viewed me as a non-traditional student, on grounds of age and occupation, and doubted the usefulness, wisdom and perhaps even the capability for me to follow this pursuit, she was able to perceive my genuine interest and concern and to provide me with support. She gave this study the vital initial thrust.

My thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor, Makerere University, for granting me periodic study leave to enable me to fulfil residential requirements at the University of London Institute of Education. I would also like to thank Bernard Onyango, former Academic Registrar of Makerere University, who as Head of Department allowed me flexible work schedules to fit in with my periods of data collection. I am grateful to Don Mann, Warden of International Hall, who initially extended to me full board facilities on the basis of my assurances to be able eventually to pay!

Many colleagues at Makerere, fellow members of ACFODE in Kampala, and many friends and colleagues in the United Kingdom provided moral encouragement. Among ex-Makerere staff I would like to thank Hannah Stanton and Margaret Macpherson for regularly checking on my progress. I thank several friends at Makerere who were always on the look out for any material related to my study: Anne Katahoire, Alice Ndidde, Maria Musoke and Evelyn Nyakojo. I derived impetus from regular correspondence with these and other colleagues, of whom Joy Tukahirwa deserves mention.

Collection of data was made less burdensome by the many helpful officials I met in the field, some of whom have become friends. I appreciate the positive response I received from many Headteachers, Principals and Registrars of Colleges and their assistants, and officials at the Ministry of Education headquarters, many of whom relied on my word to return their 'only copy' of important documents. Here, mention must be made of Philo Nshangano of the Teaching Service Commission, whose assistance facilitated my penetration through the bureaucracy at *Crested Towers* (the headquarters of the Ministry of Education). The nature of my work necessitated 'turning' many officials at sample institutions into my research assistants, but it is not possible to list them. Some of my assistants had to endure a lot of transport hardships during travel to

some remote corners of Uganda, and I appreciate their devotion. I am grateful to all those who responded to my questionnaires, in an environment where such issues are regarded as trivial. My special thanks go to Ham Mulira for his useful introduction to statistical computing. I thank Ann McDougal for typing this thesis, and I particularly commend her special attention to my numerous tables.

I owe a lot of thanks to my wider family for their constant concern. I thank two elders, *Shwenkuru* Festo Karwemera and *Shwenkuru* James Kikaffunda who, rather than 'blame' me for sometimes putting aside my role of wife and mother, instead offered me special moral support and understanding. For an African woman, these are rare manifestations from fathers-in-law. Similarly, I wish to thank Hope Chigudu, from whose deep concern and understanding of social gender inequalities I have drawn strength, and I appreciate the motivation she provides to my children. Her concern goes beyond typical expectations from a husband's sister. I am most grateful to my sisters, Erina Baingana, Grace Kalimugogo and Jairesi Nsheka, for their constant assistance to my children over my long periods of absence from home. Their help, and that of my many nieces made me ponder over the merits of large families! I thank my brother's wife, Evas Mafigiri for her suggestion and subsequent facilitation to use their cosy home in Kabale as a hideout, when I needed to concentrate on my reading. This was always supplemented by fresh groceries whenever my brother called by. I thank two relatives, who I regard as friends as well, for regularly calling on my children at home and at school: Joan Rwanika and Florence Tumwesigye.

Lastly, deep appreciation goes to my husband, Jassy Kwesiga, for moral and intellectual support, for his unwavering capacity to assemble the mass media evidence for this work, particularly during my absence from Uganda, and for shouldering the financial burden and providing parental support to our five children during the period of this study. My children's regular letters and constant calls on me to work hard and return home always re-fuelled my energy and enabled me to press on, even when the body indicated the need to relax.

The above statement illustrates that this work is in part a result of collective effort, although I have to be held responsible for the final product.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF CHARTS

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF APPENDICES

CHAPTER 1:
INTRODUCTION: IDENTIFYING THE PROBLEM AND GENERAL ISSUES

1.1 THE SUBJECT OF THE STUDY

This study analyses barriers to women's access to higher education in Uganda. It provides evidence to show that girls/women are under-represented throughout the educational system. Focus is on the higher education sector defined to include all post-Advanced Level Secondary School institutions. The analysis is conducted at national level although only a sample of eleven higher education institutions is used in the investigation. The study also considers barriers to access and completion levels in the basic educational sector in order to gain wider insight into barriers to access in higher education, since many of these stem from lower down the educational ladder. For this reason sixteen Advanced-level Secondary schools and four primary schools were included in the institutional samples.

The study uses Hyde's (1991) classification of access barriers, namely; family, societal and institutional influences, in order to come to a systematic presentation and analysis of the Ugandan case. The study does not examine all the barriers in depth, but tries to identify the most significant and serious factors limiting access for women.

Two broad methods of data collection were used: a questionnaire and interview survey, and analysis of documentary and statistical evidence. Questionnaires were administered to secondary school students, students in higher education institutions, parents, and a varying group of "Opinion leaders" who are policy-makers and influential members of the community; this latter group included teachers at both secondary and higher levels of education. A total number of 747 questionnaires were sent out. In addition interviews with heads of institutions and other decision-makers within the educational system were carried out, not only about the structure and educational provision but on general factors which limit women's access to higher educational attainment.

Documentary evidence consisted of official reports/documents, early and recent research works and statistical returns from the institutions included in the sample survey. A detailed situation analysis of Ugandan women, supplemented

by a brief socio-economic overview of the country provided a factual reference framework for the study. The conceptual framework was derived from a wide-ranging review of literature which combined elements of several theoretical perspectives from economic, sociological and feminist literature and covered many different aspects, including a number of issues known collectively as the Women in Development (WID) approach, the benefits of educating women, the human capital view of investment in education and economic returns to women's education, social theories of gender inequality and barriers to access to higher education with emphasis on gender inequality. A major conclusion of this review is that human capital theory helps to provide and explain the rationale behind social and private decisions about investment in education. These decisions are also influenced by determinants of gender/inequality in society, reflected in women's lower status. These in turn create and/or affect the various barriers to access or completion of education, which may be exacerbated by inadequate educational structures.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Presently, at all levels of the education system in Uganda, the number of females is lower than that of males. The rate of drop-out is estimated to be higher for females, and increases as one climbs the educational ladder. The position is summarised in table 1.1, showing the 1986 enrolment within the various institutions, and the female percentage for each level. Female participation remains low. For example in 1988, Ministry of Education records showed that during the first year of primary school, girls formed 45% of total enrolment; dropping to about 37% by the end of the primary school cycle. At the end of the secondary school (Ordinary Level), girls formed just under 30%. For the final year at A-level girls constituted only 20% of the total group, dropping to just over 17% at higher education. In 1988, females made up 28% of students for all institutions (UNESCO 1991). The progressive reduction of the number of girls in primary and secondary schools reduces the pool for higher education. In 1988 the number of students at the third level per 100,000 inhabitants was 81. Male students were 118, as opposed to 45 female students per 100,000 inhabitants, respectively (UNESCO 1991). Makerere University records show that the enrolment percentage of women students fluctuates between 17-20%. Only a few of those women who manage to reach the 'apex' of formal education, take up postgraduate studies.

Table 1.1: NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT-AIDED INSTITUTIONS BY TYPE AND ENROLMENT BY GRADE/YEAR, (1986)

Type of Institution	No. of Institutions	Grade							Total	% of females
		P.1	P.2	P.3	P.4	P.5	P.6	P.7		
Primary	7350	523508	407066	367810	300035	245022	98535	161850	2203824	45.2
		S.1	S.2	S.3	S.4	Sub-total	S.5	S.6	Total	
Secondary	508	56225	52000	40500	31040	17976	8521	7726	196012	34.9
		I yr	II yr	III yr	IV yr	V yr	--	--		--
PTC's	73	5112	5140	977	--	--	--	--	11229	39.0
Technical Schools	24	1246	706	603	--	--	--	--	2555	19.8
Technical Institutes	31	1797	1432	707	--	--	--	--	3936	5.9
NTC	10	875	799	--	--	--	--	--	1674	18.9
UCC	5	599	365	--	--	--	--	--	924	49.7
UTC	8	222	213	--	--	--	--	--	435	0.7
ITEK	1	265	218	149	--	--	--	--	632	33.5
NCBS	1	253	72	8	--	--	--	--	333	27.0
UPK	1	155	118	443	--	--	--	--	716	3.2
Makerere University	1	2166	1544	1385	166	129	--	--	5390	22.8
Total	8013	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	247561	42.2

Source: Report of Education Policy Review Commission (1989) Uganda Appendix 6.

Key:
PTC = Primary Teachers' College (for Primary School level)
NTC = National Teacher's College (for Secondary School level)
UCC = Uganda College of Commerce
UTC = Uganda Technical College
ITEK = Institute for Teacher Education
NCBS = National College of Business Studies
UPK = Uganda Polytechnic, Kyambogo

In the 1989/90 academic year at Makerere, 104 male students were registered for Masters degrees as opposed to 25 women (or 24%) and there were no females for the Master of Medicine (MD) or DS or Ph.D.

The problem of low absolute numbers is compounded by imbalances in the subject distribution among female students. When they enter higher education, female students tend to take non-science-based courses and this restricts their future employment prospects as Chapter 3 illustrates. For the 1990/91 academic year at Makerere University, females formed 40% of the Arts intake and 18% of the Science intake. A projection by this (major national) University is that female intake in the science-based professional courses is not likely to rise dramatically in the near future, even with the 1990 Senate decision to award an extra 1.5 points for admission purposes to every eligible woman applicant.

The situation is even worse in technical education. Table 1.1 shows that in 1986 female students constituted 5.9%; 0.7% and 3.2% of total enrolment in Technical Institutes, Technical Colleges (UTC) and the Polytechnic (UPK) respectively. In teacher training institutions, there was only one woman for every five men in 1989 (Manpower and Employment Survey (MES) 1989 - Planning Ministry).

The general picture is summarised in table 1.2 showing percentage of higher education students by field of study.

Table 1.2: PERCENTAGE OF UGANDAN HIGHER EDUCATION STUDENTS BY FIELD OF STUDY

Field of Study	% of all students	% females
Education	35	25
Humanities	5	33
Law & Social Sciences	37	40
Natural Sciences, Engineering & Agriculture	18	11
Medical Sciences	4	21
TOTAL	99	28

Source: Based on UNESCO (1991) World Education Report (1991) Table 9, p.139.

Female under-representation is evident in the educational administration sector. As Chapter 9 illustrates, in some units, women are virtually absent, such as in the Education Officer Cadre. Men dominate headship of schools, even to the extent of heading almost half of girls' schools. None of the higher educational institutions is headed by a woman. Statistics show that heads of department and members of important committees are predominantly male, and therefore women have little impact on the running of these institutions. Women are again outnumbered by men as academic staff in secondary schools and higher education institutions. As an example, in 1991 at the National College of Business Studies (NCBS) all 5 senior lecturers were men; only 1 out of 8 lecturers was female; and 7 out of 20 Assistant Lecturers were female. At the Uganda Polytechnic Kyambogo (UPK) out of a total of 95 academic staff, only 4 were women. At Makerere University, there were 2 women Professors and 2 women Associate Professors among 40 and 50 men respectively.

The problem of lack of role models has been highlighted by many researchers on educational inequality, as one of the major barriers to increased female enrolment and educational attainment. Women's under-representation means that they are not full participants even in matters concerning only women. The problem is also evident in top political appointments in government or on parastatal boards/councils as Chapter 3 illustrates. Lower rates of educational attainment by females therefore allows them little influence on many aspects of life within their communities.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

This thesis attempts to:

(i) provide clear evidence of the existence of barriers to women's access to higher education in Uganda;

(ii) identify and analyse the causes of these access barriers, thereby laying the ground for the future development of strategies for reform.

1.4 JUSTIFICATION FOR THE STUDY

The justification for this study rests on several grounds. The first is that education of women yields substantial benefits for individuals, families and society at large. The second is to emphasise the importance of higher education as a

strategy for involving women in policy-formulation and decision-making positions, as one of the sure channels through which the status of Ugandan women can be raised. Thirdly, the study brings together past fragmented educational studies, observations, and policies, thereby charting a direction for future research. In this connection too, since Ugandan women were admitted to higher education, in 1945, no evaluation of their access to this sector has been carried out. Lastly, this study tries to go beyond the *'everyday conversation'* explanations to underlying causes of gender disparities in educational achievement and attainment by drawing attention to the fact that concepts of investment in education have deeper and more varied influences on women's education than has hitherto been recognised.

The benefits of women's education in a developing society like Uganda take many different forms. Economic benefits can be directly assessed through women's participation in paid employment and in relation to their positions and types of employment, as Chapters 3 and 4 illustrate. There is also evidence to show that the education of women has higher positive effects on agricultural productivity than that of men (Jabre 1988, King 1990). It has also been demonstrated that women's education confers indirect benefits or externalities such as lower child mortality rates and improved family health status (T.P. Schultz 1984, Fernandez 1984, Caldwell 1986 etc cited by Tucto 1988). Education of women reduces fertility rates and promotes acceptability of family planning practices (Cochrane 1979, 1980, Smock 1981, Jabre 1988, UNDP 1991). The effect of maternal schooling on increasing child school achievement and attainment has also been shown to be greater than that of men's (Wolfe and Behrman 1984, Jabre 1988, King and Hill 1991, T.P. Schultz 1991). It has also been pointed out that education of women brings about attitudinal changes that result in long term social benefits such as better self-image, capacity to analyse and solve problems, or increased participation in local settings (Smock 1981, Jabre 1988, Tucto 1988, Silliman 1987, Mwau in Wallace and March 1991 etc). All these positive effects are crucial for the well-being of the woman, her family and her community.

If the level of female education and the gender gap in education are important determinants of family well-being and economic growth (King and Hill 1991), why are such social 'externalities' rarely cited as a reason for expanding public education for women (T.P. Schultz 1991)? It is true that many benefits accruing from education are not quantifiable (McMahon, in Psacharopoulos 1987, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985, Becker 1964, Morris 1977, Ayot and Briggs 1988). This presents problems in evaluating the benefits of educating women,

with the result that such 'spill-over' benefits which improve social indicators, are not fully recognised or given due attention (King and Hill 1991, T.P. Schults 1991). However, there are also other intervening factors partly explainable by social mechanisms (Stromquist 1992, Acker 1984, 1987, Duncan 1985, Fägerlind and Saha 1989, among others). The intricacies of male power interests, gender-differentiated roles and state control partly help to perpetuate this educational gender gap (Stromquist 1987, 1990, Weiner and Arnot 1987, Moore 1987, etc.). An analysis of barriers may make indirect benefits 'visible' and provide a 'push' towards closing the gender gap.

The justification for increased participation rates for women in higher education becomes clear when benefits are grouped under "functional", "cultural" and "social" services (Piper 1981). The basic functional objective of higher education is to produce appropriate human resources for the various sectors of a country's economy. This is particularly important where only a fraction of the citizens get education (Beard et al, 1974). Higher education has long moved from "liberal education of medieval times when it sought knowledge and truth for their own sake", to utilitarian goals (Parnes 1964, Beard et al 1974, Tolley 1975, Barnett 1990). Depriving women of higher education therefore means excluding them from participation in skilled and professional employment. It is at this level that women can move from their traditional lower levels and types of employment, and take up science, mathematics and technology-based occupations (Moore 1987, Sutherland 1987, Commonwealth Secretariat 1987). Governing and decision-making bodies which are often handicapped in developing policy because of inadequate information and interpretation from women will gain (Moore 1987). Role models of trained educators and workers will have a multiplying effect, with increased numbers of women in higher education. Since the 1960's the main objective of higher education in Uganda has been to produce high-level manpower and women's lower participation has meant deprivation for individuals and the state.

Higher education is also considered to have a cultural objective — creating a common citizenry and passing on culture from one generation to another (Robbins 1963, Piper 1981, Carnegie Commission 1973 etc). Since Uganda's Independence in 1962, this has been highlighted as a major objective of education, which would bring about national unity and harmony (Castle Report 1963, National Unesco Reports 1975, 1984, 1990, Education Policy Review Commission (EPRC) 1989 - Education Ministry). It is very common to hear Ugandan politicians acknowledge women as the custodians of national culture.

Since these women are under-represented in higher education, which culture should they guard? Do women, as Acker (1981) points out, enjoy a different culture? In order to be full participants in this function, women must be beneficiaries of all cultural transmission channels, including higher education.

The third objective of higher education is to provide a social service. This is a fundamental human right to which every citizen is entitled, and guaranteed by UN Conventions (Unesco Convention Against Discrimination in Education 1962, UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women 1981). This is again one of the official objectives of education in Uganda (EPRC 1989, Government White Paper 1992 - Education Ministry). Since higher education is run at a great cost to the state (and this is certainly so in Uganda), it is justified to ask who gets it and who does not (Williamson 1986). An investigation of female participation is therefore called for.

The importance of higher education can also be assessed through what it bestows on the individual. Beard et al (1977) and Bowen (1977) among others list higher levels of objective judgement, broader views, more ability to tackle problems, improved rational thinking, flexibility, increased political awareness, independent thought and many more. The situation analysis of Ugandan women presented in Chapter 3 suggests an urgent need for their urgent attainment of such attributes. Edwards' (1982) distinction between basic and higher education further shows the need to eliminate gender disparities in higher education. Basic education enables the holder to carry out routine activities and orders and implement policies devised by professionals. On the other hand, higher education is associated with taking decisions, managing others or working independently as a professional. Those who cannot take up higher education, therefore remain in the *"managed"* cadres. Such a gender imbalance within the Ugandan employment sector is evident. Higher education ultimately corresponds with levels of power within society (Moore 1987). Barriers to women's access to this sector is therefore an obstacle to power-sharing within their communities, and this has to be rectified.

This study is important for Uganda because so far there has been little investigation of the education of women at national level. Official commissions have over the years pointed to the low participation of women in the educational system, and urged for action to be taken but with no evident follow-up action (De La Warr 1937, de Bunsen 1953, Castle 1963, EPRC 1989). Curiously enough none of the specific reports on higher education have particularly addressed women's education (1955, 1958, or 1969). The two Visitation Committees to Makerere

University (1970 and 1987) did not touch on this subject either. This study is the first national survey to analyse barriers to women's access to higher education. Previous studies have included general observations about barriers to women's education, either by colonial educational officials or interested persons connected to the colonial system such as (e.g. Smith 1946, Cohen 1955, Douglas 1955). Women activists, interested in uplifting the general status of women provide further evidence of the barriers such as (e.g. Stuart undated, Mulyanti 1947, Brown 1987). Other studies have considered the education of women for specific communities (Jignasu 1968 on Karamoja, Khorono 1966 on Sebei, more recently Wakjira 1983 on Kabalore District, Odama 1987 on one county in Moyo District). Gateley's (1971) is by far the most extensive study assessing the social change brought about by Western type education. Other studies have concentrated on female performance at subject level, especially in Science and Mathematics e.g. (e.g. Kakooza 1975, Angari 1989, Muranga 1991). General observations continue to be expressed (e.g. Etoori 1991).

This research is particularly timely for Uganda because a framework for improving women's conditions is being established and invigorated since 1986, and gender inequalities are beginning to be addressed in various spheres of life as Chapter 3 shows.

Finally, it is submitted that previous Ugandan studies have not fully identified the basic explanation of the unequal education open to boys and girls. The study tries to go beyond what Blakemore and Cooksey (1982) write off as the "quick superficial conclusion" that such and such a people are not interested in educating their children. The study tries to question why various barriers usually "dumped" together as socio-cultural are so persistent and why they appear to be justified. The thesis puts forward and explores the proposition that the concept of "investment in education" is a key element that is neglected in other explanations. Moreover, on the basis of African social structures, the study brings a new dimension to the concept of investment in education. Assessment of profitability of this investment in Uganda is not solely based on the earnings of those who have benefited from education, as is normally the case in the industrialised world. Importance is placed on who will specifically benefit from such earnings. Since boys and girls are valued by their families and society according to their functional roles, whoever is expected to play a more useful (profitable) role receives higher investment. In Uganda, the social function of the individual is assessed as a whole, rather than in terms of a single dimension such as employment, and the social value of the male is judged to be higher than that of the female. Although this is not

assumed to be the sole explanation of gender inequalities in education, it provides a unifying explanation of the various barriers which have been recognised in other studies in an incomplete or fragmented way.

1.5 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The Ugandan higher education sector on which this study focuses comprises the following institutions:- (Map 1)

A Institutions directly under the Ministry of Education.

- — Universities — there are two publicly run universities — Mbarara University of Science and Technology, and Makerere University.
- — Institute of Teacher Education, Kyambogo (ITEK) which offers a B.Ed. degree course for practising teachers (award of Makerere University) and trains secondary school teachers and teacher training college tutors.
- — The Uganda Polytechnic, Kyambogo (UPK), offers courses leading to ordinary and higher diplomas in technical disciplines and trains teachers in technical education.
- — The Uganda College of Business Studies, Nakawa (NCBS) — offers ordinary and higher diploma levels in commercial fields and other professional commercial courses for external awards, e.g. A.C.S.A.
- — Technical Colleges (4) offering craft and technician training at ordinary diploma level, and feeding the Polytechnic.
- — Colleges of Commerce (5) which provide training in business education.
- — National Teachers' Colleges (10) producing diploma level teachers for secondary schools and teacher training colleges.

B Departmental Institutes run by the various Ministries
(other than Ministry of Education). They include:-

(i) The Institute of Public Administration (Public Service) whose courses include 3 postgraduate level diplomas; diploma courses for non-graduate students, and assorted short in-service training courses for public servants.

(ii) The Law Development Centre (Justice) running a professional Diploma for Legal practice, and several certificate courses and short in-service training courses.

(iii) The Cooperative College, Agricultural Colleges (3), the Fisheries College, and the Veterinary Training Institute, which are run by the Ministry of Agriculture, and Animal Resources, and which offer professional Certificates and Diplomas.

(iv) Paramedical Schools (e.g. Radiography, Nursing, Medical Laboratory, Technology etc.), which are run by the Ministry of Health and offer Diploma and Certificate courses.

(v) Lands and Survey Training school (Ministry of Lands and Surveys) also offering Certificate and Diploma courses.

C Privately funded institutions

(i) Islamic University in Uganda.

(ii) Theological Colleges (4) offering a Degree and a Diploma course each in Theology for the award of Makerere University.

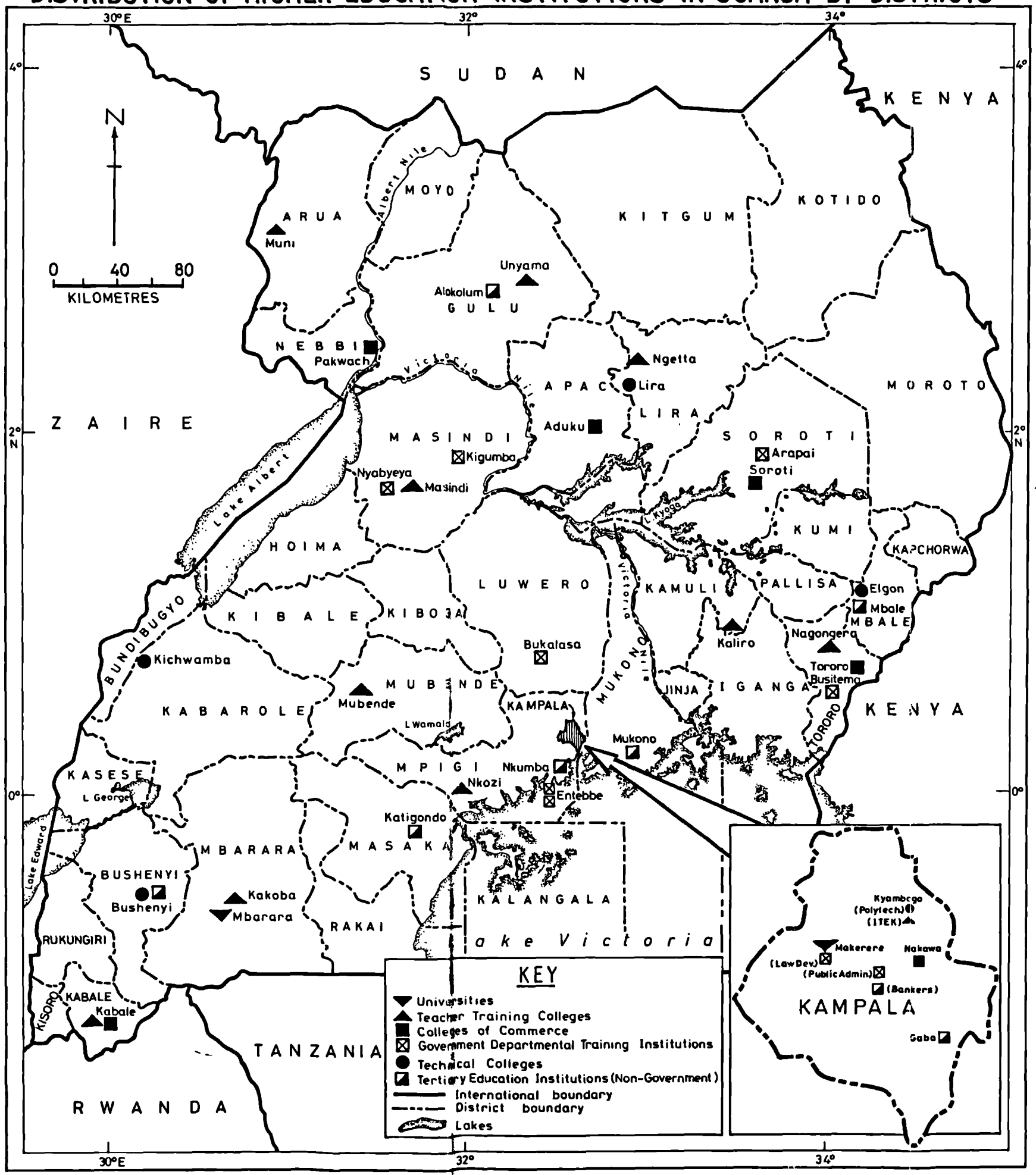
(iii) College of Tertiary Studies, Bushenyi for professional Teaching Diplomas.

(iv) Chartered Institute of Bankers; and Nkumba College of Commerce and Advanced Studies. Both run various Commercial and Accountancy courses at Certificate and Diploma levels.

The major focus of the thesis is on access to these institutions, and specifically, barriers to access for women. However, the study also examines girls' performance at primary and secondary levels and looks briefly at academic and administrative staff in schools and higher education institutions, since both have an influence on student access to higher education.

MAP I

DISTRIBUTION OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN UGANDA BY DISTRICTS



1.6. ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

Chapter 1 describes the general issues explored in this research, while Chapter 2 provides background information on Uganda. Chapter 3 analyses the position of women in Ugandan society, to provide the context within which the barriers to women's access to higher education are analysed. Chapter 4 reviews relevant literature for the study: this includes the Women in Development (WID) theory which highlights the low status of women in developing countries, with particular attention to Sub-Saharan Africa. Concepts of investment in education, direct and indirect benefits of educating women and social theories of gender inequality are also reviewed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 identifies factors which influence and determine educational access and examines the influence of the educational structure, particularly at the tertiary level. This is followed in Chapter 6 by a summary of the conceptual framework used, the key propositions of the study and research questions examined in the empirical section. Chapter 7 discusses the methods used in the empirical investigation. Data obtained in the study are analysed in Chapters 8, 9 and 10 under the three-fold classification of family, societal and institutional factors. A synthesis of the findings and conclusions is presented in Chapter 11.

CHAPTER 2:
UGANDA: A BRIEF SOCIO-ECONOMIC OVERVIEW

2.1 BASIC INFORMATION

Uganda lies in the heart of Africa, across the equator. It covers 241,139 sq km, 17% of which is water. Only 5% is estimated to be under cultivation, the rest of the land comprising water, swamps, forest reserves and national parks. Most of the country lies at 900 - 2,000 metres above sea-level, thus giving the country a mild tropical climate.

In 1991 Uganda's total population was 16.5 million, of whom 51% was female (1991 National Population Census – Planning Ministry). The population is characterised by a high growth rate (3.5% in 1991) and a large proportion of young people; pointing to continued rising demand for social services. Life expectancy is estimated at 57 years for females and 54 years for males. Infant mortality rate is 105 per 1,000 births. The country experiences a high national fertility rate of 7.4 (Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 1989, Health Ministry). 10% of the population is urban (National Population Census 1991 - Planning Ministry).

Uganda achieved political independence from Britain in 1962. There are more than 40 clearly distinct ethnic groupings, although the main divisions are between the Nilotic groups of the North and the Bantu groups of the South. English is the official language but other languages include various Bantu dialects, Swahili, Hamitic and Sudanese languages (EEC 1991). It is estimated that 49% of Uganda's population is Catholic, 33% Protestant, 7% Moslem and 10% belong to no group (UNICEF 1989).

Since Independence internal administrative divisions have been changing boundaries and names. Appendix 2 summarises these changes for ease of reference to what might appear to be confusing district names and regional divisions. Map 2 shows current districts and their respective populations.

MAP II


30°E
32°
34°
4°
2°N
0°
SUDAN
KENYA
ZAIRE
RWANDA
TANZANIA
N
0 40 80
Km
ARUA
624,600
MOYO
178,500
Albert Nile
KITGUM
350,300
KOTIDO
190,700
GULU
338,700
NEBBI
315,900
Victoria Nile
APAC
460,700
LIRA
498,300
MOROTO
171,500
MASINDI
253,500
SOROTI
430,900
Lake Albert
L. Kyoga
KUMI
237,000
KAPCHORWA
116,300
HOIMA
197,800
LUWERO
449,200
KAMULI
480,700
PALLISA
356,000
MBALE
706,600
BUNDIBUGYO 116,000
KIBALE
219,300
KIBOGA
140,800
Victoria Nile
TORORO
554,000
MUBENDE
497,500
KAMPALA
773,500
JINJA
284,900
IGANGA
944,000
KABAROLE
741,400
L.Wamala
MUKONO
816,200
KASESE
343,000
L George
MPIGI
915,400
831,300
MBARARA
929,600
MASAKA
Lake Edward
BUSHENYI
734,800
KALANGALA
16,400
388,000
RUKUNGIRI
RAKAI
382,000
Lake Victoria
KISORO
18,4900
KABALE
412,800
UGANDA POPULATION FIGURES
BY DISTRICTS (1991)
KEY
MPIGI .....District Name
915,400... Population Figures
International boundary
District boundary
Lakes

one nurse for 2,332 people and one health facility bed for 800 people (President Museveni, The New Vision, June 26, 1991). Health care units are concentrated in urban areas. For example, in 1986 the number of persons per in-patient bed in Kampala was 165 and 1,665 in Mubende District (Rehabilitation and Development Plan 1988-92). National expenditure on health has been falling. The percentage of GNP devoted to expenditure on health dwindled from 0.7% in 1960 to 0.2% in 1986 (Ibanda, 1991). The recurrent expenditure on health for 1987/88 was about Ug. Shs 94/= per person — less than one US dollar at the exchange rate then. The trend has been that while public health care services declined, private health care expanded, although some of it is sub-standard. Cost-sharing between government and the people in health care has been proposed but has met a lot of public opposition, so much so that it is working at pilot stage level at the national referral hospital for private patients only. One also has to remember that other health related inputs are not adequately provided. For example, less than 20% of households have access to safe water (Household Survey, 1990). UNICEF (1989) reckoned that the situation was better in the 1960's compared to the early 1980's. By 1983 only 36% of rural boreholes were functioning.

2.3 UNEQUAL AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Uganda was formally declared a British Protectorate in 1894. Before this, however, people had already had contacts with "foreigners": Arab traders, the missionaries and the mighty British East Africa Trading Company. Kingdoms, principalities and other social units were conquered. Some of the units amalgamated and regrouped into bigger units and others were trimmed in size through wars. Hence emerged the kingdoms of Buganda, Bunyoro, Toro, Ankole under Kings, Busoga under Kyabazinga — and the creation of many districts. While districts came under direct rule, the kingdoms were allowed some autonomy. The nationalities, as understood today, roughly correspond to district boundaries. Differential treatment was established from the beginning (Kabwegyere, 1974). This resulted in religious and regional conflicts which partly account for political instability to date.

In comparison with much of Africa, Uganda's environment is highly favourable. As O'Connor (1988) points out, however, this is true of the south and far less true of the north, where soils are in general less fertile and where rainfall is much more seasonal. Other variations are observed in the north-east (Karamoja area), where rainfall is highly unreliable. O'Connor also points to the different hilly settings,

where fertile volcanic soils exist around the Mt Elgon area in the east as compared to less fertile volcanic soils of south west (Kigezi area). The south depends on the banana crop and the climate is favourable for coffee and cotton growing. On the other hand, the north relies more on annual crops of millet, sorghum, beans etc and livestock farming. On the basis of distribution of natural resources, the country can be divided into eleven agro-ecological zones (Banugire, 1989). Six of these zones are found in the north and north-east (excluding Karamoja and the Mt. Elgon area), and is usually referred to as the cotton-cereal belt. According to Banugire (1989) this area could serve as the granary of Uganda but not even 25% of its capacity has been utilised. The five remaining zones known as the coffee-banana belt (excluding Kigezi hills and Rwenzori Mountains) depend on the banana, root crops, and less so on cereal crops.

This combination of natural resources and uneven development provides a "classic example of a core and periphery structure" (O'Connor 1988, p.85). For example, the growth of an industrial area in the South and South East, and the existence of the three main national urban centres of Kampala City, Jinja and Mbale municipalities in this region, owe their existence to availability of natural resources, including the source of the Nile river, which provided the first hydroelectric power station in the country. These inequalities were exacerbated by colonial policy which promoted cash crop production in the South and South East zones (Coffee, cotton, tea, sugar cane etc). In tracing Buganda's special position within Uganda, Carter (1967) shows how cash crop production was deliberately retarded in other specific areas. She shows, for example, how an Agricultural Officer was discouraged from growing cotton in West Nile District, and how the District Commissioner of Kigezi district was discouraged by the Provincial Commissioner from introducing cash crops. These districts were regarded as labour reserves for plantations in Buganda area. Rich areas, according to Banugire (1989) include the Lake Victoria Crescent, Western Ankole, Bunyoro, and Toro, Bugisu and Sebei. The poorest include Kigezi, parts of West Nile and Karamoja areas. Another dividing line in development is the highway connecting Uganda and the East African Coast (Uganda is land-locked); which passes through Central and Eastern regions. Communication with Sudan in the North or Zaire in the West, and to some extent Rwanda in the South-West remains minimal, thus keeping these regions isolated from further economic activity (O'Connor 1988). Banugire (1989) estimates that there is a 40:1 gap between the rich and poor areas.

Marked disparities exist between rural and urban populations, as table 2.1 illustrates.

Table 2.1: AVERAGE MONTHLY PER HOUSEHOLD TOTAL CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE BY REGIONS WITH URBAN AND RURAL BREAKDOWN (UGANDA SHILLINGS)

Regions	Rural	Urban	Rural & Urban combined
1. Central	36,477	57,546	41,334
2. Eastern (1)	23,695	49,548	25,846
3. Western	35,813	49,723	36,621
4. Northern (2)	22,087	28,380	22,652
5. All-Uganda	31,645	53,346	34,468

(1) Excludes Kumi and Soroti Districts. (2) Includes Arua, Apac, Moyo and Nebbi districts only.
Source: Uganda National Household Budget Survey (1989-90), Table 1, p. 46.

The figures show again that the Central region (Buganda area) has more funds to spend, with the Northern region possessing the least, and also that in all cases urban areas are more prosperous than rural areas. The Household Survey (1989-90) revealed that only 1.86% of Ugandan households have both electricity and water supply, but the proportion is 13.5% in the urban areas compared to 0.1% in rural areas. Even within rural populations, marked differences exist. Banugire (1989) estimates that about 70% of Uganda's rural population are "poor peasants", cultivating their own crops or labouring for others, 20% are "middle peasants", more or less above the poverty line, and only 8% may be called "rich peasants", capable of significant capital accumulation. He illustrates the differences within regions by the example of a Buganda village where poor peasants were estimated to be 50% of the population and, middle peasants 37%, compared to a village in the Northern region where these ratios were 83% and 3% respectively.

This has considerable influence on the availability of education, as is shown in the empirical data.

2.4 CURRENT SYSTEM AND PROVISION OF EDUCATION

In 1990, the national total illiteracy rate was 51.7%, within which 37.8% were male and 65.1% female. Gross enrolment ratio, (as a percentage of 4-23 year olds) was 22 in 1980 and 35 in 1988. The trend in gross and net enrolment ratios is shown in Table 2.2. Net enrolment ratios (where available are indicated in brackets).

Table 2.2: ENROLMENT RATIOS AT THE THREE LEVELS OF EDUCATION IN UGANDA 1980 AND 1988

Level of Education	Year	Total	Male	Female
First Level	1980	50 (39)	56 (43)	43 (72)
	1988	77 (53)	84 (57)	70 (90)
Second Level	1980	5	7	3
	1988	13	17	9
Third Level	1980	0.5	0.8	0.2
	1988	0.8	0.1	0.5

Source: UNESCO (1991) World Education Report 1991 Tables 2 (p.111), 3 (p.115), 4 (p.119), 6 (p.127), 8 (p.135).

Only 60% of children who enrol at first level ever manage to complete this cycle (Ministry of Education (MOE) Planning Unit 1991). It is estimated that 40% of students who complete the primary cycle continue to post-primary institutions. Between 30-40% of students enrolled in 0-level secondary schools enter training institutions or A-level schools (MEO Planning Unit). Only one third of those who qualify at A-level enter University, although a large number of them are absorbed by other higher education institutions (Minister of Education The New Vision, 5-7-1991). In 1988, University students formed 45% of higher education students (UNESCO 1991).

Education responsibility in Uganda is shared by several Ministries. The formal sector is the responsibility of the Ministry of Education. Non-formal education activities are run by different Ministries and non-governmental organisations (MOE Paper, 1990).

The educational structure runs on a four level single-track system (see Figure 2.1). In Uganda, pre-primary education is virtually in private hands, and is only available to 5% of the 2-5 year-olds (National Commission for UNESCO 1990). Primary education consists of a seven-year course. Secondary education is at two levels: four years in lower secondary courses (Ordinary level), and two-year upper secondary courses (Advanced Level). Technical schools and institutes run at the same level as ordinary level secondary school education. O-level leavers can also enter teacher training colleges, commercial colleges and a variety of departmental institutions.

Students who have completed A-level secondary education, or have gone through some up-grading schemes or special examinations join one of six types of higher education. These are: university; technical colleges; national teachers' colleges; colleges of commerce; departmental institutes attached to various government ministries, for specialised training; the sixth group being private institutions.

Ministry of Education records show that in 1989, there were 8041 government aided Primary Schools; 508 Secondary Schools; 68 Primary Teachers' Colleges; 24 Technical Schools; 287 Technical Institutes; 10 National Teachers' Colleges (for training Secondary School Teachers); 5 Colleges of Commerce and 4 Technical Institutes. Map 3 shows the spatial distribution of these institutions. There are a number of private institutions, all levels of education. Table 2.3 shows ownership and type of educational/training institutions nationally. Map 3 also shows spatial distribution of private institutions.

The quality of education has deteriorated due to the decline in the economy and civil unrest. This is reflected in the quality of teachers, inter alia, where for instance almost half of primary school teachers are untrained (MOE Planning Unit). In 1988, the pupil-teacher ratio was 35 at first level and 19 at second level. Female percentage of teachers was 31 at first level (1988) (UNESCO 1991). Calculations based on MOE Planning Unit Statistics revealed 15% female teachers at second level. Of the total required textbooks in primary schools only about 15% is currently available (MOE Paper 1990). It is estimated that there is a primary school within 2-3 kilometers of every child's home (UNICEF 1989), although this is mainly true of the more densely populated areas of the south, south-east, west and north-west rather than the north and north-eastern parts. There is great social demand for education and Parent/Teacher Associations (PTA) are very strong (EPRC 1989,

MAP III

Table 2.3: EDUCATIONAL/TRAINING INSTITUTIONS BY OWNERSHIP AND TYPE

Ownership	TYPE OF INSTITUTION									
	Gen	High	Comm	Teach	Techn.	Vocat	Dept	Other	Total	% age of total group
Government	416	11	5	90	48	4	258	8	607	67
Private	96	3	28	1	15	9	0	6	158	17
Missionary	85	2	2	1	14	6	1	17	128	14
Other	9	0	2	1	0	2	0	2	16	2
TOTAL	**606**	**16**	**37**	**93**	**77**	**21**	**26**	**33**	**909**	**100**

Source: Manpower and Employment Survey (MES) (1989) (Adapted from Table 3.1.3).

KEY:

Gen	=	General Basic Education
High	=	Higher Education
Comm	=	Commercial Education
Teach	=	Teacher Education
Techn.	=	Technical Education
Dept.	=	Departmental Institutions
Vocat	=	Vocational

MOE Paper 1990). Poor physical conditions of educational institutions, poor library and laboratory facilities at all levels are prevalent (UNICEF 1989, EPRC 1989).

In Uganda, basic education is neither free nor compulsory. Government subsidises school fees at 50% for primary; 65% for secondary boarding schools, and 25% for secondary day schools (National Commission for UNESCO 1978/80). However because of the prevailing high inflation, the estimated official funds are not adequate any more, and parents and the community meet most school expenses, even though most of the educational institutions are government aided, which implies that these institutions are under-funded (See Table 9.12 showing government educational expenditure as part of the national budget). In 1988, for instance, public expenditure on education as a percentage of GNP was 4.4 and as a percentage of total government expenditure, 22.5 (UNESCO 1991). On the other hand, higher education is not only free, but students also receive financial assistance to cover various requirements, including some personal expenses. The situation is also changing at this level, and since 1990, personal allowances for students in higher education institutions have been abolished and the policy of cost-sharing is beginning to take root (Kajubi 1992b).

MAP 5

UGANDA : SCHOOLS BY DISTRICTS

REFERENCE

- International boundary
- District boundary
- District Headquarters
- MOIMA — District name
- Government Aided Secondary Schools
- [7] Number of Private Secondary Schools per district
- (260) Total Number of Primary School per district

0 20 40 60 80 100 km

ORGANISED BY
DR J B KABERA AND DR. F.O PASSI
DRAWN BY
G W MAGAWA (CARTOGRAPHER)
MAKERERE UNIVERSITY
1991

SUDAN

ZAIRE

RWANDA

TANZANIA

Lake Albert

L. Edward

Lake George

Lake Victoria

L. Kyoga

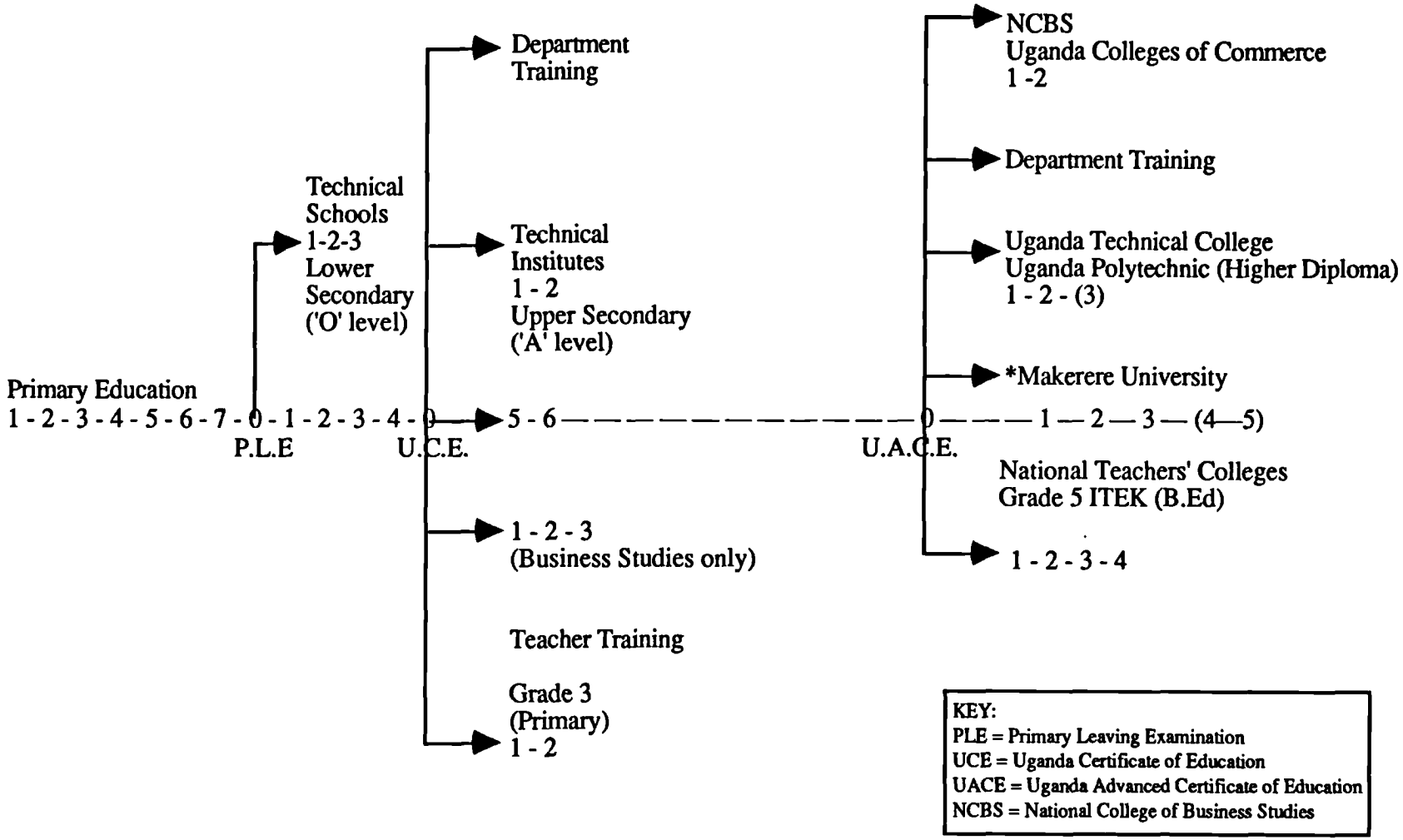
L. Bisina

MOYO 1 (71)
ARUA 9 (289)
NEBBI 9 (211)
GULU 1 (175)
KITGUM (180)
KOTIDO (58)
MORORO 1 (56)
APAC (242)
LIRA (230)
SOROTI (287)
KUMI 5 (121)
KAPCHORWA (67)
MASINDI 5 (150)
HOIMA 7 (260)
BUNDIBUGYO 3 (51)
KABAROLE 10 (368)
KASESE 2 (163)
MBARARA 11 (526)
RUKUNGIRI 2 (308)
KABALE 8 (349)
LUWERO 3 (158)
MUBENDE 17 (296)
MASAKA 27 (201)
RAKAI 11 (191)
MPIGI 17 (127)
KAMULI 11 (193)
IGANGA 14 (371)
MUKONO 10 (326)
JINJA 8 (101)
MBALE 13 (440)
TORORO 17 (468)
KALANGALA (17)

BUSHENYI 11 (510)
1 St John Bushenyi
2 Karungu
3 Nganwa
4 Rweibaare
5 Kyabugimbi
6 Kunyabwanga
7 Nyakisajwa
8 Rwamanyonyi

KAMPALA
Makerere College
Kalinabbi
Kyampoga College
Nabisunsa
Kololo
Kololo High
Old Kampala
Pistante
City High
Kampala High
Nakasero
Mengo
Mackay College
Lubiri
Kibuli
St Peters Nsambya
Kitebi
Ggaba
0 2 4 5 km

Figure 2.1: THE STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN UGANDA 1989



*After three-year 1st Degree Programmes, except for veterinary medicine and human medicine degrees which run 4 to 5 years respectively, Makerere University offers postgraduate degrees.
After 2 year Diploma of Education Programme with minimum of 3 years successful teaching ITEK offers a 2-year B.Ed. degree.
The chart shows the normal number of years required to complete each level.

Source: The Development of Education in Uganda (1988-1990) Uganda National Commission for UNESCO (1990) p.7(a).

CHAPTER 3:
THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN UGANDAN SOCIETY

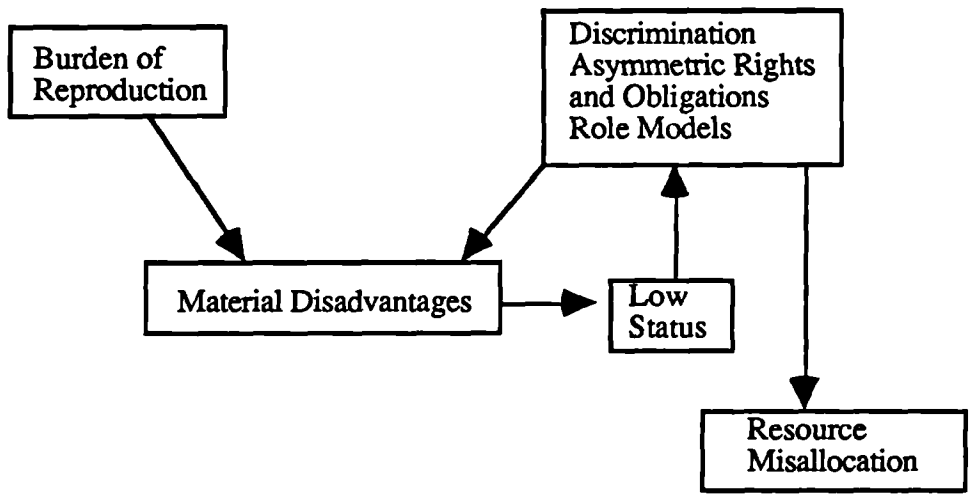
The place of women in any society can be assessed by the level of their status within that society. The exact meaning of status is not generally agreed but the definition provided by Safilios-Rothschild (1985), seems to be very relevant in the case of Uganda. This refers to:

> "the degree to which women have access to valued resources, such as food; health care; education and training; paid employment; credit; specialised training; memberships in special organisations, clubs or co-operatives that help increase their access to information and training; key services and inputs and marketing outlets; and access to political participation and decision-making power at different levels" (p.92 in Ntozi and Kabera, 1989).

This definition is consistent with that of Andrews (1988) who proposes gauging the status of women through the law, economic status and social prestige, access to and control of material resources and the overall well-being of women in comparison with men. As Collier (1987) demonstrates, low status will reinforce the material disadvantages and hinder the process through which women can rid themselves of the asymmetry of rights, obligations and discrimination.

This is illustrated in Figure 3.1 which shows that low status enhances the three processes which combine to intensify the disadvantages faced by women.

Figure 3.1: Women's Low Status: The Structure of Causation



Source: Collier (1987) p. 13.

Taking this background into account, the status of women in Uganda is assessed in this chapter under the following headings:

- Marriage and family systems
- Women's workload
- Women in paid employment
- Access to credit institutions
- Women's health status
- Women's legal status
- Women and political participation
- Women's access to sources of information
- Synthesis — overall prestige.

These nine factors provide evidence of low status of women in Ugandan society. The chapter provides the relevant context within which barriers to women's access to higher education can be analysed. The low status of women in Uganda sheds light on why they have failed to achieve the same average level of educational attainment as men. At the same time, this low status strengthens the need to push for an improvement in female educational attainment.

3.1 MARRIAGE AND FAMILY SYSTEMS

Family, as the basic unit of a society, plays an important role in a nation's economy and for its citizens as individuals. The concepts and practices which surround the family, namely lineage, marriage, divorce and inheritance systems, reflect the social organisation of the community and the place of the individual citizen in that organisation. Within the family structure, the position of the woman, as wife, mother and family carer is a high indicator of her status. This section is given special attention as it strongly influences the other measurements of a woman's status discussed in the rest of the chapter.

Lineage Systems

For all peoples in Uganda, inheritance is patrilineal, succession being through the male line, from father to son — usually the oldest. In some clans, the son inherits both the position occupied by the father during his life time, and his property. If the father does not have a son, none of his daughters can become his heir, but instead the deceased's nearest male relative (nephew, brother etc) will be made heir. In almost all ethnic groups, a man marries outside his clan or

lineage. People of the same lineage are considered to be of the same blood and heavy sanctions are imposed against those who break the practice (Ndidde, 1992). This patrilineal system and the requirement to continue one's lineage, place more importance, value and responsibility on the male than the female child. Many times, the birth of a daughter is considered a disaster. A woman who produces daughters is not shown much love and respect (Peil 1977, Kirunda 1976, Makumbi 1961, Mubungha-Makasi 1981). Even women are not happy if the first born is a girl — an indicator of more girls to come. Such girls are given names to indicate that they are children in their own right — *Bonabana* (Gaudreault, 1966) or that the mother had no choice in the sex of the baby — *Kyenderesiire.*

In their study on fertility determinants in Ankole District, Ntozi, et al (1990), found that of the 40 elders carefully selected to validate Ankole culture, none of the respondents (both male and female) wished to have only one son. All the elders preferred having more sons than daughters. The same study showed that although both girls and boys were considered to have advantages in the eyes of their parents, boys were seen to be more useful. They would continue the family line, support their parents in old age, look after the family property and provide the required security for both parents. Girls were commended for their potential to enrich parents through bridewealth, nurse their mothers and assist with family duties. Mothers particularly saw sons as useful in socio-cultural terms. The researchers concluded that the need for children was instrumental rather than psychological — hence the "value-added" view of the sex of the child. Male dominance and assumed superiority is confirmed through a study by Mubungha-Makasi (1981) on Kasese District, and Onweng Angari (1983) concerning the Langi people.

Marriage Patterns

Marriage in Uganda is of three types: Customary, Civil and Moslem (Action for Development (ACFODE) 1989a, Tamale and Okumu Wengi 1992). More attention is given to customary marriages because these influence the other types of marriages. For example, failure to pay the required bridewealth is enough reason to stop a Church wedding ceremony from taking place as this will mean that the bride's parents have not given consent (Brown, 1987). Customary marriages in Uganda are potentially polygamous (ACFODE 1989a, Tamale and Okumu Wengi 1992). The Uganda Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) 1988/89 found the practice to be widespread. Of the 4,730 women aged between 15-49 who were interviewed, 33% were then married under a polygamous union, as table 3.1 indicates. The Uganda Women Lawyers' Association (FIDA) (1991) estimates this

to be 50% nationwide. The table illustrates that the practice is spread over the region (24 out of 34 districts were surveyed), although it is more common in the East, and the report attributes this to a bigger Moslem population. There is little difference between urban and rural (31% and 33% respectively). The practice covers all educational levels although it is slightly less prevalent among those with higher education. The effect of polygamy on the health and legal status of women are discussed below. Perlez's (1991) case study of Namutamba village provides a typical example of a polygamous marriage arrangement. Three women are married to one man. Two wives share one house with their nine children, and the "town wife" lives with the husband in an industrial town where he spends most of his time. When he visits the village, he brings enough essentials to last only three days. He also spends little time with the family as he has a lot of business to discuss with friends and neighbours.

Table 3.1: PERCENTAGE OF CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN IN A POLYGAMOUS UNION, BY AGE, ACCORDING TO BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, UGANDA, 1988/89

Background Characteristics	AGE							
	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Total
Residence								
Urban	16.2	33.1	34.3	28.6	41.7	40.0	20.0	31.0
Rural	22.3	30.4	36.8	39.4	39.7	43.2	40.0	33.3
Region								
West Nile	(14.3)	37.0	34.8	30.4	(35.3)	(37.5)	(50.0)	33.1
East	35.3	40.9	43.7	47.5	38.3	46.4	43.6	42.3
Central	19.0	32.3	32.5	32.9	36.4	35.6	43.6	31.8
West	(21.4)	36.0	35.5	(56.3)	(26.7)	(58.3)	60.0)	39.0
South West	15.3	20.9	21.4	31.3	43.3	41.7	29.6	27.1
Kampala	18.2	32.4	33.7	27.8	48.4	(58.3)	(25.0)	33.2
Luwero Triangle	21.5	37.8	36.7	33.3	29.6	29.3	51.3	33.8
Education								
No education	22.3	32.5	26.7	38.4	37.7	43.9	36.8	33.9
Some primary	20.7	29.4	33.9	35.3	40.5	43.2	41.2	32.2
Primary (completed)	27.3	35.8	39.7	31.8	(61.6)	(20.0)	(0.0)	36.2
Middle	14.8	31.6	35.8	27.6	38.5	(50.0)	(50.0)	31.7
Higher	(0.0)	17.4	22.2	28.6	(33.3)	(0.0)	(0.0)	22.7
Total	21.2	30.9	31.4	35.6	39.7	42.9	38.1	32.9

NOTE: the numbers in parentheses are based on fewer than 20 unweighted cases.

Source: Demographic and Health Survey, Uganda, 1988/89, p. 13.

The chief end of marriage in Uganda is procreation (Kiwanuka 1942, Kanyerezi, 1974, Banyenzaki 1974, Kabuzi, 1986, Ntozi et al 1990 and 1991). Failure to conceive leads a husband to take on other wives and/or divorce the barren one. This decision is usually a collective one by the wider family. Infertility is a serious shortcoming. The man is erased from his clan. Some communities demand refund of bridewealth on such grounds. (The idea that the man could be responsible for such a situation is rarely, if ever, contemplated). The importance of procreation can be illustrated by the example of the Bahororo of Rukungiri District where an anthropological study by Banyenzaki, 1974 shows that a girl with small breasts is ridiculed and suspected to be infertile. One of the worst curses to a Muhororo person is the expression of *Kafe otazeire* — may you die without producing children. Celibacy is regarded as unnatural (Mbamanya 1989). Spinsters and bachelors are ranked by society in the class of children. They have contributed nothing to their clans. Even today, a spinster is regarded as an embarrassment to her family (Ntozi et al, 1990). Traditionally, in Ankole and Buganda areas, when a spinster dies, her body cannot pass through the main entrance of the house, and if there is no other outlet, a hole is broken through the wall of the house for this purpose. In Buganda, a spinster is denied the "last funeral rites". A bachelor, however, can be exonerated on grounds of poverty (Ntozi et al, 1990). Because of the importance placed on marriage and procreation, a girl is trained into the roles of a wife, preferably the first wife, a mother, mother-in-law, grandmother and ancestor (Gateley 1971). The days when "the unmarried woman was regarded as something of a curiosity" (De La Warr 1937) have not passed.

Practices regarding Widowhood and Re-Marriage also illustrate the status of women within the Ugandan family system. The practice of widow inheritance is still widespread in Uganda (Ntozi et al 1990 and 1991, Asingwire 1991, Tamale and Okumu Wengi 1992). The practice is more prevalent where high bridewealth is charged. Ntozi et al (1990) explain that the widow's bridewealth will have come from the family property pool. Since the wife is virtually the property of the husband's family, this family has an obligation to look after her and her children. One of the brothers-in-law takes her over, and in some cases she may be "lucky" to choose which one. If the widow is young and prefers to leave, her parents will be asked to refund the bridewealth. Often she is unable to return to her parents as they may not be able to refund the bridewealth. She is also expected by society to look after her children, who belong to her husband's clan. She cannot take them to her own family. She remains closed in this web. Ntozi and Kabera's (1989) analysis revealed that while 85% of the men in their study wanted a relative of the husband to inherit the widow, no man wanted re-marriage outside the extended

family while 70% of the women respondents opposed the whole issue of widow inheritance.

Forced Marriages

It is necessary to point out that although forced marriages were more common in the past, they still occur. Pregnant girls are forced to marry the fathers of their children. Under-age girls are married off without their consent In a seminar to sensitise women on their legal rights in Tororo, Eastern Uganda, 1989, ACFODE 1989(b) recorded several such cases, from participants who had seen this happen in Soroti and Kumi districts. Fathers needed to restock their cattle kraals, depleted by civil war, and therefore arranged marriages for their daughters.

Wife Sharing

Another practice reflecting the low status of women, common in Western Uganda, is that once a woman is married, she is allowed access to her brothers-in-law, provided she is discreet enough not to arouse her husband's resentment. What this in effect means is that each brother can make a claim on her. In fact, a wife is generally referred to as "our wife", and the term "sister-in-law" in such cases has sexual connotations. Ntozi and Kabera (1989) found this to be one of the contributors to high fertility rates in Ankole. Their study revealed that this practice still enjoyed particular support among women from the pastoralist community.

Attitudes Towards Pregnancy Outside of Marriage

Traditionally, pregnancy outside marriage met with harsh treatment. In some communities, it meant death (e.g. the Bakiga would throw the girl over a certain high waterfall). In other communities, like the Alur, complex rituals had to be performed to repel the evils brought about by this misbehaviour (Southall — cited by Ndidde 1992). The Baganda were most lenient as they would only bar the girl from using the parents' main house and would in many cases send her off to live with a relative. Many of the communities had to ascertain that a girl was a virgin before marriage and presents to her parents for "guarding" her well were expected. If she had lost virginity this would be expressed in no uncertain terms and the whole community would know about it (e.g. sending a bedsheet with a hollow cut, to the parents by the Baganda). Although such harsh treatment no longer exists in the original form, this kind of pregnancy is still regarded as a shame to the family. Kirunda's (1976) study on Buganda showed that parents blamed present-day girls

for not earning their parents gifts of goats, since the girls were no longer virgins at time of marriage. Coupled with the idea of universal marriages, such expectations lead to early and/or forced marriages.

Bridewealth/Bride Price Systems

Only bridewealth and bride price will be used, in as much as these refer to payment in cash or kind, by the bridegroom to the bride's parents, they are all applicable to Uganda. To avoid confusion, however, where dowry refers to the money or property brought by the bride, only bridewealth and bride-price will be used. Bridewealth signifies a contract between the bridegroom and the bride's father (or family) (Morris 1966). In Uganda, payment of bridewealth represents the marriage certificate (Birinda 1974). It constitutes legal evidence even for civil marriages.

Obbo (1980) classifies bridewealth patterns in Uganda into two. The Nilotic System found among the Alur, Acholi, Luo, Lugbara, Madi, Teso, Karamoja, and the Interlacustrine system characteristic of the Bantu of Southern Uganda such as the Ganda, Nyoro, Toro. She identifies the Nilotic System with high bridewealth in the form of cattle and/or other animals, and money. This bridewealth is refundable in case of divorce. The Interlacustrine system charges lower bridewealth — consisting of a little cash, a traditional dress for each parent, meat, paraffin, beer etc., which are regarded as gifts. It is not refundable. Obbo's classification though useful, does not adequately take account of variations in the different systems nationwide and within regions. Zedriga (1980) reports dwindling amounts of bridewealth by the Lugbara people. On the other hand, high amounts of refundable bridewealth is the norm in Ankole and Kigezi areas of South Western Uganda (Birinda 1974, Banyenzaki 1974, Ntozi et al 1990, 1991). Evidence points to the fact that high bridewealth systems are more prevalent than low bridewealth systems. The most important issue, however, seems to be what payment of bridewealth signifies.

First, bridewealth permanently transfers the woman's sexual and reproductive rights and powers to the man and his lineage (Obbo 1980, Birinda 1974), particularly where high bridewealth is charged. Children belong to the husband, irrespective of the father. If the woman re-marries, unless bridewealth has been refunded, her existing children belong to the first husband or his family. If a woman co-habits with a man, she can go off with the children since the man has not paid bridewealth. According to Birinda (1974) such a man

"is simply a thief who must return what he has stolen with all its interests and offspring" (p.4). The amount of bridewealth determines the extent of the vested interest the males have in their women and the subsequent necessity for them to guard the women's chastity and fidelity (Obbo 1980). Where reproductive rights are not permanently transferred from the woman, children belong to the biological father. This is common where low bridewealth is paid such as Busoga and Buganda (Fallers 1957, Roscoe 1965 cited by Ndidde 1992).

The second aspect to consider is whether bridewealth is refundable or not. Obbo (1980) found that in the Nilotic system, deductions are made for services rendered — labour, producing children, and sexual partnership. Usually, there is nothing to return after the books have been balanced! In some other parts of Uganda, the original number of animals must be refunded, however long the marriage has lasted, and whatever services have been rendered. One could almost compare bridewealth to caution money payable to a residential institution, where, on departure, the amount of refund depends on the damage caused to the property. It could also be regarded as deposit for purchase of an article, where one is free to reject the article and claim back the money. On the part of the woman, marriage is a period of permanent trial.

Refund of bridewealth has for a long time exercised the minds of women activists in Uganda. Brown (1987) recalls how Acholi women requested the State Governor in 1956 to abolish the practice. She recalls how a conference of the Association of Uganda Women's Organisations in 1960 called for its ban. She shows how an official report, instituted through women's pressure (The Kalema Report, 1965) decided to ignore this issue. The same request has been placed before the Commission currently preparing for a new Constitution, in a women's Memorandum from the Ministry of Women in Development, (The New Vision, 16-7-1991).

The concern of those affected can be appreciated if the effects of bride price on the status of women are summarised.

(a) She is effectively made the property of her husband (Obbo, 1980; Ntozi and Kabera 1989, Matembe 1989a).

(b) The price paid for marriage stability is at the expense of the woman's comfort and freedom. "The practice is inhuman, unconstitutional and it forces women, especially in rural areas, to remain party to marriages that are irretrievably broken" — so declared the women in the memorandum quoted above.

(c) It encourage the inheritance of widows, thereby depriving women of the freedom to choose companions.

(d) Those who advocate the system believe that it is an indicator to the parents that the man is capable of looking after her (Banyenzaki 1974, Kanyerezi 1974 etc). On the other hand, the system perpetuates a woman's dependency. Expectations are that the man will safeguard, feed, clothe and meet her other necessities. The fact is, however, that the man acquires the productive powers of the woman instead (see section on agricultural and household work). In enquiring whether a young man is married yet, the Bakiga people ask whether he has managed yet to get himself a slave (*Omushumba* — which describes someone who moves in to live with a new family and is expected to render services for no pay). Messages in the Luganda language on Radio Uganda, to newly married men often congratulate them on having acquired a cook for the staple banana (*Webale Okufuna Omufumbi W'etooke*).

(e) Bridewealth encourages early marriages because girls are regarded as a source of wealth. Ntozi et al (1990) found the earning of bridewealth for parents was the frequently cited advantage of having a daughter. Gaudreault (1966), observed that men did not mind marrying off their daughters as second or third wives so long as there was good bridewealth. In Kigezi and Ankole areas a man with many daughters is enviously referred to as potentially rich, on the sole basis of the anticipated heads of cattle he will demand as bridewealth for these daughters. The amount payable varies from place to place but Ntozi et al (1990) estimated the average brideprice in Ankole to be 10 well-fed heifers.

(f) The high bridewealth charged, and the market-oriented manner in which many communities carry out this transaction dehumanise women. One party tries to reduce the amount to the minimum possible, while the other party employs every bargaining power to extract the maximum amount. Angry exchanges are made, fines imposed for any trace of condescending utterances, and above all, women are not allowed anywhere near the scene. A letter in <u>The New Vision</u> newspaper, dated 1 November 1990 illustrates the problem. The writer narrates how he was charged Ug. Shs 20,000/- and 20 cows, 20 goats, hoes, a man's suit, a woman's traditional dress and "a few other gifts". On production of the cash, one cow and two goats, he was allowed to take his nineteen-year old wife and to produce the

remainder later. The couple had one child when he wrote, but the wife had been withdrawn from him on three occasions. The father-in-law had then threatened to take him to court for breach of contract. In the tone of a typical letter to the "agony corner" of a woman's magazine, the unnamed man seeks advice. Such a situation can only be described as "hire-purchase", a term previously used by Okot p'Bitek (1966) to refer to such practices. In Ankole and Kigezi, such a man would not dare visit the girls' parents. He is an enemy (Birinda 1974). If he is allowed into the house, he is given a particularly uncomfortable chair, popularly known as *Mukwe atazhugire* (son in-law who has not paid bridewealth). In the economically poor districts of Kabale and Kisoro, young men work for years collecting this bridewealth. Many of them fail to realise the amount at one go and resort to a cheaper procedure — elopement and subsequent payment of fines (Birinda 1974). All this is not conducive to comfortable, respectable married life.

(g) Control of the amount of bridewealth became difficult with the introduction of the cash economy in Uganda. Colonial governments, through byelaws, churches and by persuasion, tried to regulate this without success and loopholes were often exploited (Birinda 1974, Brown 1987, Akello 1990). It remains a lucrative transaction for the male members of society. Mothers get nominal shares from it (Ntozi et al 1990).

The question of bridewealth is so provocative an issue that apparently women leaders have concluded that it would be unrealistic in present circumstances to call for outright abolition of the practice (The New Vision, 16-7-1991).

3.2 WOMEN'S WORKLOAD

The type and amount of work women do is an indicator of their status within their communities. However, there are considerable difficulties in evaluating women's workload as illustrated in Chapter 4. Like other African women in Sub-Saharan Africa, Uganda women carry a heavier workload than men, although not much work has been done to evaluate it. Okot p'Bitek, (1966) anthropologist and poet, labelled the African woman ***sweeper, cook, ayah, dish-washer, cultivator, store-keeper, builder, runner of errands, cart, lorry***

and donkey. Many other commentators have echoed this description, e.g. President Museveni of Uganda (1986) who referred to Ugandan women as donkeys, tractors, water taps and factories. This section illustrates this phenomenon.

The Rural Setting

It is estimated that Ugandan women produce 60% of all agricultural produce and over 80% of all the food consumed (UNICEF 1989). This, combined with domestic work and child care, leaves almost no time for the woman to have enough sleep, the year round. In a survey of four districts, where 685 women from different social levels in the rural areas were interviewed, Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) found that the working day of a rural woman ranges between 12-18 hours. The extent of the work load may vary from area to area depending on the natural resources — soils, climate etc. For example, in Kabale District, where livelihood depends on annual crops (sorghum, millet, potatoes, beans, peas etc) the woman is in the field from dawn to dusk. She may leave the field earlier in order to pick foodstuffs, or collect firewood and water for supper. What she considers a rest is attendance at Church on Sunday, when the rest of the day can then be spent on indoor work in preparation for the new week. She may also get a 'rest' if she has some produce to sell at a weekly market several kilometres away. Her husband may be tending animals, if there is no young boy to do this. He may look after household maintenance, get involved in selling produce, or he may also be in the field attending to crops for sale, e.g. tobacco. He may prefer to sell his own labour for cash, but he must find some time during the day to join other men to consider important community matters, usually at a trading centre, over a drink.

In the Buganda area, where the perennial banana is the staple food, the woman goes into the field in the early morning to avoid the mid day tropical sun. She is able to settle down in the house to prepare a midday meal and carry out domestic work into the night. Even here, the workload is still unfairly distributed among men and women as Tadria's (1985) study of two parishes showed. A wider comparison of workloads between husband and wife was carried out by Harmsworth (1986) in eight districts. 36% of the women respondents reported that they did the farm work alone, 38% that the husband seldom assisted, 13% that he occasionally assisted and only 13% reported that he always assisted. In one district 55% of the women reported working without husbands' assistance. It was only in Masaka District, in Buganda, where 33% of the women reported that husbands always assisted. The rest of the responses were below 20%.

Table 3.2 from a survey by Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) is even more informative as it includes all family members and the types of jobs they do. Their findings demonstrated a heavier workload for women than is usually assumed, for jobs like tending animals or maintaining the compound are often regarded as usually done by men. Virtually all indoor chores fell to the women and girls, in comparison with men and boys, which explains the extended working hours of the female worker. This so-called "division" of labour is emphasised through socialisation, making it a disgrace for a man to carry water, grind or cook. As Akello (1990) illustrates with examples from Teso and Acholi areas, folklore is used to cement this division.

TABLE 3.2: DIVISION OF LABOUR ON THE FARM AND IN THE HOUSEHOLD: UGANDA (Percentages)

Village Activity	N/A	My-self (wife)	Husb-and	Boys	Girls	Porter	Husb-and & me	Me, co-wife & girls	Me, relatives, porters	work group	All in the family
Gardening	—	28	17	2	1	9	26	3	4	1	9
Harvesting	—	37	2	1	1	2	33	4	5	2	13
Cooking	—	76	1	—	2	1	1	8	6	—	5
Fetching water	—	52	1	9	12	1	1	7	7	—	10
Collecting firewood	—	56	1	8	10	3	1	7	8	—	6
Tending animals	46	24	9	5	1	2	5	1	2	—	5
Milking	83	2	7	3	—	2	1	—	1	—	1
Baby sitting (child care)	31	53	—	1	6	—	—	3	4	—	2
Washing clothes	—	78	—	3	5	—	2	5	3	—	4
Care for the sick and old	—	58	11	1	1	1	21	3	1	—	3
House building and repair	—	11	59	5	1	10	9	1	2	1	3
Maintaining compound	—	45	23	9	4	2	7	4	2	—	4
Control of vermin	24	23	27	5	—	11	1	1	1	1	6

Source: Nalwanga - Sebina and Natukunda (1988) Women's Needs Assessment Survey.

It is public knowledge, though little statistical evidence is available, that a man may and often does stop his wife from selling any farm product she has produced solely on her own. He owns the land. If he allows the sale, he may do the selling himself and is free to decide on how it is spent. In Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda's (1988) survey (Table 3.3) 74% of the respondents said men sold major crops, 63% stated that the crops were sold at the co-operative society (these are controlled by men in membership and management) and 65% stated that

husbands decided on how the money should be used. In spite of the long hours spent in the field, women derive little benefit from such efforts.

TABLE 3.3: DECISION-MAKING ON SALE OF AND USE OF PROCEEDS FROM MAJOR CROPS (n = 365)

Person selling major crops (%)		Place of sale (%)		Person deciding on use of money (%)	
Wife	17.2	Market	8.7	Wife	19.1
Husband	74	Co-operative Society	63	Husband	64.9
Both husband and wife	5.2	Roadside	2.7	Both	14.5
Other	3.6	Village Buyers	25.5	Other	1.3

Source: Compiled from the Study by Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) Table 2.3.8b (p35).

In spite of the above constraints women still carry responsibilities which require cash payments as table 3.4 demonstrates.

TABLE 3.4: DEMANDS ON WOMEN'S INCOME IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH ADULT MALE PRESENT (SELECTED DISTRICTS), 1986

	% OF WOMEN PAYING		
DISTRICTS	SCHOOL FEES	CHILDREN'S CLOTHES	OTHER DOMESTIC EXP.
Arua	6%	50%	68%
Gulu	10%	44%	56%
Jinja	4%	22%	34%
Kabale	10%	20%	18%
Mbale	20%	42%	46%
Mbarara	6%	42%	44%
Masaka	0%	35%	24%

Source: From Harmsworth, "The Economic Status of Rural Women in Uganda", 1986, p.158.

The problem is compounded by the fact that women are engaged in the subsistence sector which has been stunted by the capitalist cash economy dominated by men (Tadria, 1985 and Harmsworth 1986).

The Case of Urban Women

It is generally assumed that women in an urban setting are better off than rural women since they have better access to modern amenities — electricity, clean water, better health and educational facilities etc. While it is true that these things are comparatively more available to urban women, one has to remember that due to the persistent economic crisis, many such urban dwellers are also poverty-stricken. It is estimated that about 60% of Kampala's urban dwellers are in this category (de Coninck, 1991). The main purpose for making the distinction between rural and urban women here, however, is to illustrate that in whatever social setting a woman finds herself in Uganda, her workload is heavier than that of her male counterpart. Akello's (1990) demonstration of the overall burden of a Ugandan woman compared to a man, irrespective of her residence or level of education emphasises this point.

The man may be a non-skilled worker in a manufacturing industry where he works the whole day on an empty stomach. His wife may be a housemaid in a middle class home where she has to complete her schedule of household duties without any rest hour throughout the day. While the man may look to a rest, and possibly a satisfactory meal at night (depending on his day's fortune) his wife will have to prepare the evening meal, attend to the children's needs, clean the house and prepare for the next day. On the other hand, the husband and wife may both be high level public servants. When they retire home, the man may relax at home and get his dinner served or go out "to meet the boys". His wife is likely to go home and attend to children's meals, participate in preparations for supper or engage in some income-generating activity, and is not likely to find time even to read the newspaper. Even if official duties may be similar, the wife has the additional burden of domestic duties. Mwaka (1987) demonstrates this with regard to professional women.

Women academicians at Makerere University were asked to indicate what domestic duties their spouses would willingly take up. This included attending to children's needs at night, taking children to hospital, checking children's school books, supervising work in the kitchen, washing/ironing clothes, taking children to school, attending school functions, cooking a full meal for the family etc. Most

respondents pointed out that the men would participate in some of the duties, only if there was no choice — e.g. no other household help (Kwesiga 1991).

It is necessary to add that continued decline in the economy and SAP measures have added further constraints to women. Their purchasing power has been reduced. Higher costs of farm inputs and transport lower profit levels. Hours of work are extended to increase production and more involvement in the insecure informal sector has become inevitable. Access to social services is further reduced, and women are negatively affected by "cost-sharing" programmes in health and education. Cuts in public sector employment (a major one took place in July 1992) lessen chances of paid employment (Boyd 1990).

3.3 WOMEN IN PAID EMPLOYMENT

> "While males and females are almost equally divided in the population, the number of females in the formal sector employment was only 20 per cent of the total. In the category of skilled workers their share was 26 per cent. Women are, therefore, disadvantaged in formal sector employment". (MES, 1989, p. xi).

Government, as the biggest employer in Uganda, provides a good starting point for this assessment. A survey of Uganda Civil Service employees (1987) showed that not only were women under-represented but they were also clustered into specific occupations. (Table 3.5). The biggest number of women was employed in the lowest echelons of the service (Chigudu and Tereka 1989). The category containing the highest number of women (37%) was technicians and semi-professionals such as veterinary/medical assistants, nurses etc — persons who implement rather than formulate policy.

Table 3.5: NUMBER OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN THE UGANDAN CIVIL SERVICE BY OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORY AND SEX

Occupation	Total Females	Total Females As % of Total in each Occupational Category	Total Male	Total Males As % of Total in each Occupational Category
1. Administrative and managerial occupations	911	5.5	15,608	94.5
2. Professionals	1,171	16.8	5,789	83.2
3. Technicians and Semi-Professionals	31,278	37.0	53,426	63.0
4. Clerks and Service Workers	9,253	26.2	25,518	73.4
5. Farm Fishery and Related	1,172	14.4	6,953	85.6
6. Craft and Related Workers	202	3.6	5,389	96.4
7. Machine Operating and Assembling	220	4.3	4,816	95.7
8. Elementary Occupations	11,645	17.0	55,766	83
Not stated	438	NA	1,419	NA
Total	56,290	24.3	174,684	75.7

Source: Adapted from Census of Civil Servants, 1988 Table 5, p. 71.

The largest employers of women were the Ministry of Education and Health. At the national referral hospital, women formed 83% of the employees. The next largest categories with substantial percentages of women staff were clerks and service workers (27%), and elementary workers (17%). Women were less represented among managers (5.5%) or professionals (16.8%). Ministries requiring science-based training such as Energy, Works, Lands and Surveys, had negligible numbers or no women in the professional categories.

The MES (1989) classification of employees in non-governmental establishments show similar distributions, with women clustered in the semi-professional category, clerks and sales workers (Table 3.6). Musoke's (1990) survey on staffing in 10 higher education institutions, the Police Force, the Uganda Electricity Board and the Uganda Development Corporation, confirmed the under-representation of women in the decision-making cadre. The study confirmed gender bias (in favour of men) in opportunities for further training.

TABLE 3.6: SKILLED EMPLOYEES IN NON-GOVERNMENT ESTABLISHMENTS BY SEX

Occupational Group	Male	%	Female	%
Administrators & Managers	695	90.6	72	9.4
Professionals	2,030	82.5	432	17.5
Technicians & Associated Professions	8,628	74.6	2,945	25.4
Clerks	3,695	52.1	3,394	47.9
Service & Sales Workers	766	63.8	434	36.2
Skilled Agricultural & Fisheries Workers	43	91.4	4	8.6
Craft and Related Workers	5,057	96.9	161	4.1
Plant and Machine Operators and Assemblers	997	94.5	57	5.5

Source: Compiled from Manpower and Employment in Uganda 1989, Table 2.4.1.
N.B. The 597 persons whose sex was not stated are omitted from this table.

Informal Sector Employment

As the Ugandan formal sector shrank in the 1970's and 1980's the informal sector expanded, although the exact magnitude is not known (MES 1989). Although women participate in this sector, it is difficult to ascertain the extent. In a sample study of the four major towns of Uganda (MES 1989), women were mainly found in trade and restaurant work (40%) where they sold newspapers, charcoal and firewood and food served from market places or kiosks. They were fairly represented in the food processing industry (flour milling, baking etc.) but were not involved at all in the profitable areas of construction and transport trade. Women are also widely involved in petty trading, popularly known as *Toninyira Mukange* — a reference to how the traders constantly have to warn customers not to step on their merchandise, as the market place is very congested. This trade developed as a result of economic hardship, for as Obbo (1991) explains "most families from all socio-economic strata need at least two or even three income-generating activities to survive" (p. 98). Assorted goods are spread on street pavements and some strategic streets are completely sealed off in the evenings. Others sell under

Open Market Stalls (see Obbo, 1991 for details). At a more adventurous level women deal in import trade, travelling to the United Kingdom, India but mainly to Dubai. It is established that women form one quarter of this sector (Obbo, 1991). This urban development illustrates that women are involved in productive, albeit unprotected, business, which is not valued in national monetary terms.

3.4 ACCESS TO CREDIT INSTITUTIONS

The main barrier to women's opportunities to procure credit, is their lack of ownership of land or other property. They are therefore unable to offer the collateral necessary for ordinary loans. Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda's (1988) Survey showed that only 7% of the women interviewed owned some portion of land (size not stated). The percentage is likely to be lower at national level since this particular survey had a big sample from the Central Region where women may own land. Secondly, the majority of women live in rural areas, devoid of credit institutions. Even where opportunity exists, the rate of illiteracy limits their negotiating powers, and chances to know about such facilities. According to Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) and Musoke and Amajo (1989) women find the idea of approaching such institutions most intimidating. Low literacy rates have been cited as a strong barrier to extending training in business management, by the Ugandan Women's Finance and Credit Trust (UWFCT — Status Report 1989). In the circumstances, effective credit institutions have to offer conditions that take into account women's needs and limitations.

A few examples of such programmes are provided to show the extent of the problem. The Rural Farmers Credit Scheme run for the government by the Uganda Commercial Bank since 1987 provides loans to men and women farmers. Loans cover crop farming, animal rearing and agro-processing. A major constraint which was found to be specific to women was that the scheme provided no funds for labour. It was assumed that family labour would suffice but family labour usually means wife's labour. Women had to borrow elsewhere to meet this expense (Musoke and Amajo 1989). Another scheme assessed in the same study was UWFCT, an affiliate of the Women's World Banking. The Trust offers loans to low-income women without the usual collateral, for small scale industries and other income generating activities. It provides some informal training in business management and marketing and good banking practices. Projects must be owned and operated by women. The third scheme studied was the Centenary Rural Development Trust (CERUDET) run by the Catholic Church. It offers loans to rural

men and women administered through Church parishes. Its services are extended to non-Catholics although the channelling of funds through the parish structure may put others to a disadvantage.

While these and several other schemes (by NGO's) are a welcome development, they all have small deposits. The Rural Farmers Scheme has not gone beyond the pilot level of the original six districts. Both the UWFCT and the CERUDET operate in scattered parts of the country. So far these cannot meet national demand. UWFCT has been found to be making good progress (de Coninck 1991). In general, use of credit facilities as a developmental strategy is still remote to Ugandan women. Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) found that almost 70% of their respondents did not borrow money. Those who did, borrowed from a friend or relative, and this was not for developmental purposes. The schemes presented here are new and the few studies so far made do not provide comparable data for men. They were aimed at assessing women's needs and constraints only, probably because men are relatively less disadvantaged in having access to credit.

3.5 WOMEN'S HEALTH STATUS

The inadequate health infrastructure outlined in Chapter 2 points to poor health status for both men and women in Uganda. On the part of women, evidence of this is plentiful. For example, Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) showed that the morbidity rate of rural women in the two weeks prior to their survey was high (76%). They also found that of the women who sought treatment, 66% had to pay, and 48% had to walk more than 8 kms round trip to the nearest clinic. Further analysis in this section draws heavily from the DHS (1989) results.

Availability of Household Amenities

Possession of the amenities listed in Table 3.7 does not only reflect the socio-economic status of families but also the potential to meet health needs, good nutrition, personal hygiene, use of adequate utensils and energy and access to health information. Although the overall picture is poor, the rural population (which is bigger) is worse off than the urban.

TABLE 3.7: PERCENT OF WOMEN WHO OWN OR HAVE ACCESS TO SELECTED HOUSEHOLD AMENITIES ACCORDING TO RESIDENCE AND REGION, UGANDA 1988/89

	Residence		Region						
Household Amenity	Urban	Rural	West Nile	East	Central	West	South West	Kam-pala	Total
Electricity	51.1	1.7	0.0	4.2	6.5	0.0	2.3	62.6	7.4
Hot plate/cooker	25.0	0.6	0.0	1.2	2.4	0.0	0.7	36.4	3.4
Television	14.6	0.2	0.0	1.0	0.2	0.0	0.1	23.9	1.9
Refrigerator	11.5	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.3	0.0	0.4	16.5	1.3
Charcoal iron	54.7	27.1	39.8	31.8	31.8	33.7	19.5	56.4	30.2
Charcoal stove	82.2	12.9	8.1	18.4	26.8	10.2	7.9	91.1	20.9
Bicycle	24.2	36.1	37.9	44.2	39.9	42.2	22.7	20.7	34.7
Soap in house	94.5	83.2	64.6	79.9	88.9	86.7	86.5	93.4	84.5
Radio	66.2	23.4	10.6	23.7	33.8	33.7	20.3	76.1	28.3
Listen to radio weekly	72.1	30.8	19.3	29.4	45.3	43.4	25.4	79.7	35.5
Number of women	542	4188	265	1305	1177	273	1415	296	4730

Source: Demographic and Health Survey, Uganda 1988/89 (p. 10).

Marriage Practices and Exposure to Pregnancy

(i) Polygamy has already been pointed out as one of the social problems Ugandan women face (see Marriage discussion above). The DHS survey (1989) found that this practice may lead to increased fertility due to competition among wives to produce more children, particularly sons. It has also been found to enhance the transmission of sexually transmitted diseases, a real risk in this AIDS/HIV age (Asingwire 1991).

(ii) Age at First Union

Age at first union is an indicator of potential exposure to pregnancy with the likelihood that those who marry early are likely to have more children (The DHS uses the word 'union' to encompass all mothers, including the unmarried). As table 3.8 shows the median age at first union is still low, at 17.5 years. This exposes most women to the dangers of many deliveries and the resultant effect on maternal health. Urban women tend to marry later than those in rural areas as do the educated in comparison to the non-educated. This is shown very clearly in Table 3.8.

TABLE 3.8: MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST UNION AMONG WOMEN AGED 20-49 YEARS, BY CURRENT AGE AND BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, UGANDA, 1988/89

Background Characteristics	Current Age						
	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	Total
Residence							
Urban	19.5	19.4	18.4	19.2	17.4	16.7	18.6
Rural	17.8	17.4	16.9	16.6	16.8	16.8	17.2
Region							
West Nile	16.9	17.0	17.5	(17.5)	(19.0)	(18.5)	17.4
East	16.9	16.8	16.3	16.2	15.8	15.9	16.5
Central	17.7	17.6	16.6	16.4	16.3	16.9	17.1
West	18.4	17.7	17.5	(14.8)	(16.0)	(17.3)	17.5
South West	18.9	17.9	17.6	17.6	18.0	17.2	18.0
Kampala	19.6	20.0	18.4	20.0	17.3	(17.0)	19.3
Luwero Triangle	17.7	17.5	16.6	16.4	16.1	16.7	17.1
Education							
No education	16.9	17.1	16.7	16.5	16.4	16.7	16.7
Some education	17.7	17.4	16.7	16.7	16.7	16.6	17.2
Primary completed	18.6	18.6	17.9	19.1	(18.0)	(20.5)	18.5
Middle	20.6	19.8	20.2	19.5	(20.0)	(18.5)	20.1
Higher	—	23.2	(22.7)	(22.6)	(25.2)	(25.5)	23.5
Total	18.1	17.7	17.1	17.1	16.7	16.8	17.5

Note: The numbers in parentheses are based on fewer than 20 unweighted cases.
Source: Demographic and Health Survey, Uganda 1988/89, p. 15.

(iii) Fertility Rates

The DHS estimated the total fertility rate for Ugandan women in 1989 as 7.4; this is defined as "the number of births a woman might have if she survived through the productive period of 15-49 years and if she were subjected to the age-specific fertility rates which women are currently experiencing" (DHS 1989 p.19). Table 3.9 shows that there were differences between rural and urban women and from one educational group to another. Comparatively better access to paid employment and family planning facilities were considered to be contributory. When these figures are combined with the responses on desired number of children, it becomes clear that the fertility rate is not likely to fall in the near future. The DHS

noted that even among women with 6 children, one third still wanted to have more children. Ntozi et al (1990) found that on average women wanted 8 or more children.

TABLE 3.9: TOTAL FERTILITY RATES (TFRS) FOR CALENDAR YEAR PERIODS AND FOR FIVE YEARS PRECEDING THE SURVEY, AND MEAN NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN (CEB) TO WOMEN 40-49 YEARS OF AGE, BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, UGANDA, 1988/89

Background Characteristics	Total Fertility Rates*			
	1985-1988**	1982-1984	0-4 years before survey	Mean Number of children ever born to women age 40-49
Residence				
Urban	5.7	6.1	5.7	6.9
Rural	7.6	7.6	7.5	7.5
Education				
No education	8.0	7.7	7.7	7.6
Some education	7.2	7.3	7.2	7.4
Primary (completed)	7.1	8.4	7.3	7.3
Middle	6.6	7.0	6.7	7.9
Higher	5.2	7.2	5.1	5.0
Total	7.4	7.4	7.3	7.5

* Based on women aged 15-49.

** Includes exposure in 1988 and 1989 up to the time of interview.

Source: From DHS 1989, Table 3.1, p. 19.

(iv) Knowledge and Use of Contraception

Knowledge and use of contraception indicates the extent of choice that women have in controlling their fertility. The DHS (1989) found that although there was widespread awareness of contraception methods and availability, comparatively few women made use of them. A summary of their findings is presented in Table 3.10.

TABLE 3.10: FAMILY PLANNING KNOWLEDGE AND USE — CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN 15-49 (1989) (n=3180)

Method	Know Method	Ever Used	Currently Using
Modern	78%	7%	3%
Any Method	84%	22%	5%

Source: Derived from DHS 1988/89, Figure 4.1 p. 28 .

While 90% of urban and 70% of rural women knew where to obtain the service, few sought it. Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) revealed that 41% of their respondents would not recommend contraception use to their daughters. What was interesting from DHS (1989) statistics is that only 8% of women had heard of male sterilisation — which places a bigger moral burden of family planning on women. Lack of family planning services in rural areas may explain why Ntozi and Kabera (1989) found that 35% of the 683 women interviewed used traditional methods e.g. prolonged breast feeding, use of herbs, sexual abstinence etc. The results above indicate why women are exposed to frequent pregnancies.

The DHS (1989) findings confirmed that education of women is an important determinant of knowledge of family planning methods. The percentage of women knowing a method and its source increased with higher educational levels. 99% of women with higher education knew at least one modern method of family planning and its source, whereas only 67% of women with no education knew of modern methods and only 59% knew a source. Table 3.11 clearly shows this effect.

Table 3.11: PERCENTAGE OF CURRENTLY MARRIED WOMEN KNOWING AT LEAST ONE MODERN METHOD AND KNOWING A SOURCE FOR A MODERN METHOD, BY BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS, UGANDA, 1988/89

Background Characteristic	Knows Modern Method	Knows Source	Wtd. No. of Women
Age			
15-19	74.4	69.5	422
20-24	78.2	72.9	710
25-29	83.2	77.7	705
30-34	76.9	69.8	506
35-39	79.3	74.2	363
40-44	76.1	70.3	252
45-49	69.1	61.8	223
Residence			
Urban	94.2	90.3	290
Rural	76.3	70.4	2890
Region			
West Nile	17.8	11.9	194
East	84.8	75.4	979
Central	78.7	74.1	777
West	61.0	56.8	194
South West	83.3	79.9	886
Kampala	96.3	93.3	151
Luwero Triangle	89.7	84.9	313
Education			
No education	67.1	58.7	1409
Some primary	83.2	79.2	1294
Primary (completed)	94.1	91.5	241
Middle	95.3	93.1	172
Higher	99.1	99.1	61
Total	77.9	72.2	3180

Source: DHS (1989) p. 29.

Mortality and Health

(i) Maternal Mortality and Morbidity and Maternity Care

Mirembe and Turyasingura (1989) show that obstetric care in Uganda is not yet adequate. Even at the national referral hospital, which has better facilities than other hospitals, the maternal mortality rate is 4.5 per 1,000 deliveries. The principal cause of death was direct consequences of pregnancy, omission of necessary treatment, incorrect management, although they reported inadequate ante natal and intra natal care as contributory factors too. Higher rates must occur in rural areas where many home deliveries occur, but with no records kept. The DHS (1989) assessment of prenatal and intra natal care showed that this was unsatisfactory. Mothers received prenatal care from trained nurses for 76% of their births, but only 36% of births benefited from this service at delivery. The disparity was larger regarding care from doctors — 11% for prenatal care as compared to 3% at delivery time. Home deliveries assisted by traditional birth attendants or relatives accounted for 42% of total deliveries. One can only agree with Kabwegyere (1990) that "a culture that puts a high premium on child birth also puts a high premium on maternal death" (p. 139).

(ii) Child Health and Survival

The difficulties faced by women in Uganda include many problems regarding the health of their children. Table 3.12 shows that the overall probability of a child dying between birth and age five is 180 per 1,000 births, and the situation has not improved for many years.

TABLE 3.12: TRENDS IN INFANT AND CHILD MORTALITY (Rate per 1,000)

Period	Infant Mortality	Child Mortality	Under 5 Mortality
1973-77	92	97	180
1978-82	114	97	200
1983-88	101	88	180

Source: Derived from Figure 6.1, DHS, 1989, p. 55.

DHS (1989) estimated that only 24% of all children aged between 12-23 months were fully immunised. The survey also indicated general inadequate child nutritional status.

(v) Maternal Nutritional Status

Although there are programmes to prevent and treat child malnutrition, there is no intervention programme for mothers at all. Mothers may be taught a few things about diet when they attend ante natal clinics but thereafter advice is directed to children only. Sometimes lack of knowledge may play a big role. Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) found that 43% of mothers did not understand that kwashiokor and marasmus among children was a nutritional condition. On the other hand, food taboos, which vary from one area to another may be a strong factor. Among the foods which women should not eat are eggs, chicken, pork, certain types of fish or grasshopper (Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda, 1988). These are high protein foods, usually in scarcity among low income groups. It has also been observed that many times the most nutritious, delicious and biggest portion of chicken, goat, etc are reserved to fathers while children and mothers share minor parts, sometimes satisfying themselves with a taste of the soup only. In urban and rural trading centre, men feast on roast chicken, pork or goat at drinking places, while children and mothers are confined to unpalatable and nutritionally unbalanced meals (Refer to several addresses by Mukwaya- Director for Women's Affairs — NRM Secretariat). The Kalema Report (1965) expressed concern about such negative taboos, citing Busoga and Teso districts as examples.

All the above factors show the poor status of women's health in Uganda.

3.6 THE LEGAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN UGANDA

Ugandan society has always been governed by customary laws, based on oral traditions, customs and cultural values. These differ from one nationality to another (about 40 in number), although there are some common grounds. These laws, which include personal laws governing family relationships in matters of marriage, divorce, succession, property ownership etc are male-oriented. Alongside this complexity are formal laws in statutory enactments, derived from the British legal system during the colonial era, and influenced by western values, Christian ideas and morals (ACFODE 1989a, Odonga-Mwaka 1989 and Tamale

and Okumu Wengi 1992). An assessment of Uganda's compliance with the provisions of the **UN Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women** by ACFODE (1989a) showed that very little had been achieved. Okumu Wengi (1992) records recent improvements but as this section will point out there are still some major areas that concern present-day Ugandan women, which show that their legal status is low.

Basic Human Rights and Equality

Researchers have pointed to existing gender bias, in the granting of Ugandan citizenship. Citizenship for a person born outside Uganda is granted only if the father, and not the mother is Ugandan (1967 Constitution, Art. 4(1) (C). A minor follows his/her father's citizenship (Art. (2) (3). Article 20 of the same Constitution prohibits discrimination on many grounds but is silent on discrimination on grounds of sex. This omission legitimises and sanctions laws and practices that discriminate against women, as Tamale and Okumu Wegi (1992) have argued. Another such example is the requirement for husband's consent before a Ugandan passport can be issued to a married woman (Kiapi 1991, Odonga-Mwaka 1989 and Tamale and Okumu-Wengi 1992).

Marriage and Family Laws

A few examples of constraints presented by the three prevailing types of marriages highlights the woman's predicament.

(i) Customary marriages that lead to polygamous unions limit a woman's rights and duties as a marriage partner. Legally interpreted, "the woman becomes a half, a third or a quarter, etc. of a wife, depending on how many wives the husband takes on" (Tamale and Okumu Wengi 1992). This reduces the wife's entitlement to love, consortium and maintenance, and her consent for the husband to take another wife is not mandatory.

(ii) Civil Marriage is monogamous in nature but due to its alien origin, it is common to mix it with customary rituals and to disregard some of its principles, e.g. by committing bigamy or taking on an "informal" wife, this being considered "natural" customarily (ACFODE 1989a, Tamale and Okumu Wengi 1992).

(iii) Cap 213 of the 1964 Laws of Uganda provided that marriages and divorces for Moslems shall be governed by the Sharia Law. As Tamale and Okumu Wengi

(1992) stress, this law renders women perpetual minors. A woman is not supposed to speak in public, should cover her face in public, may not challenge her husband on important issues etc.

Divorce Laws (Cap 215 of Laws of Uganda) discriminate against women. On grounds for divorce, a husband has only to prove adultery but the wife must in addition prove either desertion up to two years, cruelty, bigamy etc. (ACFODE 1989a, Kiapi 1991, Matembe 1989a etc). Since customary laws are taken into account, and may be assumed to suffice, even without recourse to civil marriage requirements, a woman faces more obstacles. This has led Tamale and Okumu Wengi (1992) to conclude that "whereas a man may divorce his wife on all sorts of grounds — infertility, theft, insubordination, etc., a woman's sure ground is perhaps impotence" (p. 11).

Maintenance — All the types of marriage laws require husbands to maintain their wives and children. The practice is for women to demand maintenance for children only. Although the Affiliation Act (Cap 217 of the Laws of Uganda) provides for this, the amount is ridiculously low (Shs 2000/- or 2 US dollars per month). Other requirements, such as a single mother applying for this affiliation within 12 months after the birth of the child, compound the problem (Tamale and Okumu-Wengi 1992).

Succession

Decree No. 22 of 1972 provides for a wife's share in the husband's estate. A widow has a right to the matrimonial home until she dies or remarries. However, practice differs, as FIDA has shown. Of the 450 cases handled by their Legal Aid Clinic between May and September 1991, 184 of the cases involved inheritance problems, and widows being denied the right to live in their matrimonial homes because relatives assume blood relationship to the deceased gives them more rights to such property (The New Vision, 17th December 1991). Other discrepancies like provision for a male heir to be preferred to a female if there is equality between possible heirs indicates the low regard for women under the legal system (Succession Act (Cap 139, Laws of Uganda).

Property Ownership

Through the succession and inheritance law provisions, and customary practices, a woman is excluded from property ownership in most parts of Uganda.

This has already been detailed under section 3.1 above. The land tenure system in particular favours men (Odonga-Mwaka 1989).

Paid Employment

The Employment Decree (No 5 of 1973) provide protection of females against certain hazardous employment like mining. However, there is no provision to combat discrimination in employment on a gender basis. Labour laws that would protect women, for example, as domestic workers, are not enforced. Maternity period is short (45 days) and employers may use absence beyond the required provision to terminate employment. A husband may cause termination of his wife's employment in the civil service, if this employment is breaking up the home (Musoke 1990, ACFODE 1989a, Memorandum by Uganda Women Trade Unionists The Weekly Topic, 7-6-1989 etc).

In summary, the legal provisions, whether customary or statutory do not show equity between men and women. Provisions for women are either omitted, or where they exist, the machinery to enforce them is lacking or ineffective. Wife beating, for instance is usually regarded as a personal domestic problem and accordingly ignored by the police.

3.7 WOMEN AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION

Political involvement will be assessed through women's opportunity to make decisions and formulate policy through democracy at grassroots level and political participation at national level. With regard to decision-making and policy formulation, the section on employment has already demonstrated that women are under-represented in this cadre of employees. Chapter 9 confirms this with regard to educational institutions. A brief analysis of gender balance in political appointments provides further evidence. Mutibwa (1988) found that women were represented on 15 out of 90 parastatal bodies/councils/commissions. Currently (1992), there are two Cabinet Ministers, one Minister of State, and one Deputy Minister out of a total team of 43. Of the 24 Ambassadors, only 2 are women. At Permanent Secretary level, there are 6 women and 34 men. The list could go on to show that Uganda does have some women High Court Judges, members of important commissions, or managing directors of a few parastatals. This is a welcome development since the late 1980's, but their numbers, in comparison with

those of men, mean that such appointments remain tokens in the sense that one or two women cannot become real members of such establishments.

Political Participation

Ugandan women have had the right to vote since parliamentary democracy was introduced by the British. However, the first woman member of the Legislative Assembly was appointed only in 1955, and although in 1960 there were 16 women members, none had been elected (Mpanga 1989). Akello's (1990) depiction of the Ugandan political scene in the 1960's shows how wives, aunts, sisters and all women of a clan would actively campaign for men parliamentary candidates, but no woman stood for election. The first time women stood in national elections was as recent as 1989, when two women (out of 267 members) were elected to the National Resistance Council (NRC). The current political system offers channels for women to take advantage as political participants. This is the Resistance Council/Committee System whose structure is laid out in Appendix 3. Under this system, every community is organised into ascending hierarchy, through village, parish, sub-county, county and district levels. These are usually designated RCI, RCII, RCIII, RCIV and RCV respectively. (The system was devised by the ruling government when it was waging a guerrilla war — hence the word Resistance). At village level all persons of age 18 and above elect an executive committee of nine members (Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, General Secretary, and Secretaries for Information, Security, Education and Political Mobilisation, Youth, and Women (RCI). These Committee members join others from all villages which form a parish, and elect a Committee of nine again (RCII). The nine members will join others from all parishes which come under one sub-country to elect another Executive Committee (RCIII). This goes on up to District Level (RCV). These Committees legislate for the RC of their level, on a range of matters which may be of a local nature. They have some powers to make byelaws and to settle certain types of disputes. The system is important for women on two counts. First, at each committee level, there is a post of Secretary for Women's Affairs which must be filled by a woman. This ensures their representation. Secondly, at District Level, it is mandatory to elect a women's representative to the NRC (34 were elected in 1989). Deeper analysis shows that women have not taken full advantage of this opportunity. For example, during the first such elections women had to be persuaded to stand, and they stood for the post of women's representative only, whereas they were free to stand for any of the nine positions. The second round of elections (1991) showed more awareness, as some RC's are now chaired by women. Constraints still remain, as Ddungu (1989) and Ndinawe Byekwaso

(1991) reveal. Women's affairs at RC levels tend to be separated from main Committee work and this reduces women's participation in general community decisions. Executive committee work has tended to be more emphasised than electoral council work, and such committees are still dominated by men. Women do not attend RC meetings regularly and men still exercise an upper hand. Some Council work is run on the basis of traditional self-help scheme *(Bulungi Bwansi)*. This includes the protection of water wells, and road maintenance. Women keep away from such functions — thus denying themselves the chance to make claims on certain aspects of life in the community. The overall assessment by Ddungu (1989) and Ndinawe Byekwaso (1991) (each based on two different districts) is that although the opportunity for women's participation is now available it has not yet been utilised. This partly derives from previous lack of involvement in community decision-making. "The cycle of subordination has prevented women from participating in the internal political structures of their societies" (Akello 1990 p.6). Real change has yet to come.

3.8 WOMEN'S ACCESS TO SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Access to sources of information is assessed here through looking at women's membership of specialised organisations, clubs, co-operatives etc. because such membership exposes women to information regarding training, key services and market outlets (Safilios-Rothschild, 1985). The assessment also sheds light on how women see themselves in the social structure described in previous sections, and the extent to which they can improve their own condition. The assessment is at both governmental and non-governmental levels.

Governmental Level

The Ministry of Women in Development (WID) created in 1988, now forms one of the three divisions of the Ministry of Women, Culture and Youth. The WID Division is charged with formulation and co-ordination of policies and programmes on women, in liaison with sectoral ministries (Mpanga — Minister's Policy Statement 1988). Currently WID work is carried out through several projects, a few examples being:

— sensitisation programmes on gender issues for decision-makers and the public, through seminars, workshops etc.;

— support and follow-up of women's initiatives at grassroot level, where women's groups are trained in simple business management and marketing;
— Masese women's self-help group - an income-generating and housing improvement project in the slum area of Jinja municipality (Deputy Commissioner for WID, 1991).

Still at governmental level is the National Council of Women (NCW) which was created in 1973, when the Military Government banned all other Women's Organisations. NCW was then charged with co-ordinating all women's activities in the country. Its position is unclear since the creation of the WID Ministry. It co-ordinates NGO activities and yet the WID unit has an NGO subdivision too. The NCW has a nationwide network of branches, and has been working closely with the National Federation of Community Development Clubs, which also operate through such national networks. Community Development Clubs were particularly active in the 1960's, running Women's Social Centres down to county levels. Many such Social Centres are in disuse. At political level is the Directorate for Women's Affairs at the NRM Secretariat. This is charged with political mobilisation of women; and works closely with the Resistance Councils and Committees.

With regard to a systematic, co-ordinated overall national machinery, all these governmental/political agencies do not fit in the jigsaw yet. For example, while the RC system offers a platform for women's activities, WID is talking of creating Women's Councils from the grassroots to national level because it has been found that the RC atmosphere still lacks the ideal environment for unrestrained women's involvement (WID Deputy Commissioner).

Non-Governmental Level

The nationwide women's movement in Uganda has its roots in the formation of the Ugandan Council of Women in 1947, with subsequent branches around the country. The movement was strong during the 1950's and 1960's but collapsed in the 1970's under the general ban on womens' organisations by the military government. (Kalule-Settala 1966, Brown 1987, Mpanga 1989). On the other hand, women's groups have for long been part of the Ugandan social structure though not formalised or recognised by government. In order to assess the effect of the various organisations as information and training channels for women, these are discussed under (a) Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and (b) Grassroots Organisations (GROs).

(a) Women's Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Since 1986, many women's groups have been formed or revived. In 1991, there were over 40 such groups registered with the National Council of Women, and many more are unregistered (NWC records).' These constitute several categories:

— Religious groups, e.g the Uganda Moslem Women's Association or Mothers' Union.
— Economic groups, e.g. Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust.
— Trade Union Groups — allied to the National Organisation of Trade Unions (NOTU).
— Social Welfare or Charitable groups e.g. the Uganda Women's Efforts to Save Orphans (UWESO).
— Professional Groups - e.g. ACFODE and FIDA.

These NGOs are largely urban-based (Kawamara, The New Vision, 18-9-92, Kiggundu The New Vision, 5-8-92, Waithaka and Kwesiga 1991). They experience irregular and poor attendance at meetings (Nyakojo 1991, ACFODE 1990b). Many of them do not meet the requirements of an NGO, for example, the presence of an office, some established procedure for scheduled meetings, criteria for membership or written constitution (Boyd, et al. 1990). They lack financial capacity to survive, as they largely depend on foreign donations. This seriously limits their chances of reaching rural women, and therefore reduces their potential for transforming the social and political context outlined in this chapter. Above all, they lack an effective and unifying co-ordinating agency. As a result they duplicate efforts, and halt growth of a stronger movement (Kawamara 1992). Laws and regulations governing women's operations keep women's issues outside the mainstream of development policy (Nyakojo 1991), thus blocking useful lobbying channels, for instance with women parliamentarians. Some success has been recorded, though. For example, women's views are now being solicited on major reforms, e.g. child and family law reforms. Some women's NGOs have reached some rural women, e.g. FIDA through its Legal Aid Clinic and Education Programmes, ACFODE through its Rural Networking Programme and the Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust through its loan and business training scheme. Much more contact is still required.

(b) Grassroots Organisation (GROs)

Effectiveness of GROs is an important indicator since the majority of Ugandan women would be utilising such channels. The total number of GROs is

unknown. They vary in nature according to local environment. Some of them are becoming formalised and beginning to attract donor support, mainly foreign (Waithaka and Kwesiga 1991). Ndinawe Byekwaso (1991) loosely classified GRO's under the following categories:

— Co-operative groups, where women contribute money and engage in some income-generating activity like sale of produce or grain milling.
— General Clubs engaged in making and selling of handicrafts, literacy work, cookery and "empisa" (good behaviour and etiquette) or as Ndinawe Byekwaso explains, "teaching women how to behave before husbands" (leaving one curious to know the course content!)
— Specific income generating groups outside traditional clubs, e.g. production and sale of energy-saving cooking stoves (Waithaka and Kwesiga, 1991).
— Cultivation groupings engaged in joint farming and assisting one another through collective labour. Sometimes these extend to other activities like contributions to burial or wedding expenses.
— Savings groups, creating a revolving fund for the group so that money can be utilised in turns by members.
— Environmental protection groups, such as tree planting associations (Waithaka and Kwesiga 1991).
- Kinship Credit Systems (Birungi (1992) (formalised transactions among relations).

All these groups are small, and so far unable to take on commercially viable projects. Some of them operate seasonally.

Non-Formal Education (NFE)

In a country with low literacy rates, and without universal primary education, NFE should be promoted to supplement the formal system and to reduce educational gaps between mothers and daughters. This has been stressed by past Education Policy Review Commissions (e.g. de Bunsen 1953, Castle 1963). So far, there is no specific legalisation to make NFE a component of the country's education system (Katahoire 1989). The EPRC (1989) observed that neglect of NFE especially since the 1970's is an indicator of a weak national educational policy. As a result, NFE provision is sporadic, fragmentary and narrowly focused (Katahoire 1989). In her study to assess NFE programmes which prepare women for employment in Jinja and Kampala Districts, Katahoire (1989) found that programmes were mainly run by NGOs and on small scale, because of lack of

finances. Concentration was on women's traditional activities of tailoring, home economics, needlework and secretarial training. There was some appreciable breakthrough extending to metal-work, carpentry, shoe-making, brick-making, livestock and food - processing, although these are not yet typical activities. Her findings show that although it was stated that most of the trainees required secondary school qualifications, a large proportion of primary school leavers were enrolled. Older women are not catered for. Typically attendance at women's groups was irregular and drop-out high, as Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) had found. Virtually all programmes assessed by Katahoire lacked continuity, and had no plans for the next stage.

The above findings are not encouraging since government extension programmes, (in health, agriculture, community development) which would supplement NGO efforts are not effective either. For example, Agricultural and Co-operative Officers are found at district headquarters, and in some cases, down to county level. But many women do not benefit from such services. Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda (1988) found that 95% of the 681 women in their survey had had no contact with an agricultural extension worker in the six months prior to the interview, and 98% had no contact with the co-operative officer. This was reflected through the level of their lack of knowledge about farm inputs. For example, 88% had never heard of concentrated animal feeds; 52% had never heard of improved seeds; and 88% had never heard of modern mulching methods. There is no nationally co-ordinated literacy programme. WID and Local Government are in the process of reviving the programme which had served many men and women in the 1960's (WID Literacy Action Plan, 1992).

If non-formal education is defined to include systematic planning and preparation, provision of a curriculum, agreed prerequisites for joining courses, and organised class/meeting time and space, then there is little of it in Uganda, (Agyei's definition, 1989).

From the scattered information available, the overall conclusion is that women's access to sources of information in Uganda is limited. The official channels are not yet effective, while non-governmental ones lack co-ordination. Systematic planning and implementation of programmes is not yet in place (Katahoire 1989). Ddungu's (1989) study of Luwero district revealed that hardly any RC Secretaries for Women's Affairs kept a file or had any action plan. Many women are unable to listen to educational programmes as they own no radio or are

kept busy by the heavy work-load. Activities have hardly begun to address the real issue of raising awareness as to why women are more backward than men.

3.9 SYNTHESIS — OVERALL PRESTIGE

This chapter has explored the major aspects of the life of a Ugandan woman. Within the marriage and family structure, she is secondary, in spite of being the main worker for the family. Both mother and daughter are *de facto* the property of their male relations. A woman can be bought or sold as soon as there is a good bidder. Although she is constantly labouring, she has little control over the results of her labour. She is unable to escape from the subsistence economy as she lacks the right tools to do so. When she gains paid employment it is in the category of lower pay and not at the decision-making level. Her health is poor due to a combination of repeated pregnancies, overwork, and lack of health care facilities. She is governed by laws which favour her male counterpart. Because of the socio-cultural environment, she cannot take full part in the governance of her community. Above all she lacks the information that would enable her to plan how to wriggle out of this situation.

All the above serve to undermine the status of women within society. At the time of Independence Kisosonkole (cited by Castle 1966) found the underlying cause to be the belief that a girl was inferior to a boy. Many girls still believe this today, while many more boys and men are convinced of it. While gathering fieldwork data in Kabale District for this project, the researcher asked a boy of about 10-11 years who was selling cigarettes by the roadside, why he was not attending school. His friends were quick to answer. He had left school because he could not accept being beaten by a woman (class teacher). The amount of abuse hurled at women car drivers in Kampala City is enough to illustrate Kisosonkole's observation above. There is no space to illustrate the many ways through which this low prestige is expressed in everyday life. Take for example the punishment given by a local court in Busia (Eastern Uganda) to a male rapist — Shs 1,000 (1$) and a chicken to be served to court members to remove the wrath of the community (The New Vision, 8-6-92). Another case involved a headmaster of a Kampala suburban school who was arrested for raping two school girls, but was soon after released from police custody. Parents forgave him because he had raised the standard of the school (The Weekly Topic, 26-10-1990). The names given by husbands, ostensibly in praise of their wives, indicate what a good wife is expected to be e.g. *Bayoroba* (flexible, easy to handle) or *Babukara*

(someone who keeps a low profile) (Matembe's list in The Weekly Topic, 24-8-1989c). Music and drama also portray women negatively. For example the three plays staged by *Kigezi Kinimba Actors* at the Ugandan National Theatre in 1991, portrayed the woman as a cruel step-mother, a harsh and unreasonable boss, sexually loose, but without balancing this with the reality on the man's side. For years a regular cartoonist in a daily newspaper presents *Ekanya*, the main character as a witty, humorous person, capable of solving any domestic or official problem in spite of his love for the bottle, while his wife is naive, nagging and lacking insight.

The situation of a Ugandan woman is aptly summarised by a rural-based woman in the poem below. Although the poem refers to Kigezi District, the situation described is, in one form or another, applicable to other areas of Uganda. The poem refers to "ancient" Kigezi, but as this Chapter has demonstrated, the situation described is very much a current phenomenon. This reference perhaps also helps to emphasise that a woman's life in Uganda is governed by "ancient" customary practices and values, deeply embedded in the fabric of society.

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN ANCIENT KIGEZI

Wisemen and counsellors, inventors and thinkers, gather together, that we may search for the cause of **woman's** backwardness,

Let us first seek for an excuse and a pretext from nature
God, at creation first made **man;**
He gave him dominion over all His creatures;
Then he gave him a helper and called her **woman**
Saying, "Your desire will be for your husband".

Teachers, **male** and **female**, theologians and dogmaticians,
Who teach that wife must obey husband, that husband is family head;
Grandfathers and grandmothers who teach **woman** to keep in the inner room
And be quiet in public; never to cross her legs; never to whistle;
never to own land or property.
There are even things she may never eat:
Grasshopper, goat, chicken and egg.
They bargain for her as for a piece of land,
They purchase her as they do a piece of cloth
She may speak only once, but **he** can and should speak twice.

Woman nurses **man** and his property
Woman grows the crops and bears the children
If she delivers a baby girl they blame her for decreasing the clan:
So they cook beans for her and allow her two days' rest
And tell her to stop being lazy and go digging:
"The hoe will return strength to your back!", they mock
Then if she delivers a baby boy, there is jubilation and exultation,

And they praise her for increasing the clan:
Therefore they slaughter and offer her meat,
And she may rest for four days, till her back is firm again.

But then her chores increase too:
She works till sunset and thinks she has done well,
But if one fails in her nightly duties, they despise her day's labours.

Education and politics have been forbidden ground for her since the day she was forbidden to speak in public.
She may only get a smattering of training,
With the instruction that her office is in the kitchen.

There is pain and agony in the fact that women in the village grow food only for the kitchen.
They have nothing for sale, for they do not own the land!
Womanly love, patience, courage, kindness and composition, these five,
Secure peace and harmony for the home — their home!

Let us arise, all of us women, let us arise together! Show our wisdom, form one great movement for development,
Hear what others teach,
And teach others in turn selflessly;
Let us cry out to government for capital support,
For menial manual labour is killing us!
All of you women listening to me:
I entreat you, let us arise together, hold together, learn together, stick together,
To salvage and reveal woman's dignity, trampled, stifled under foot for far too long!

The alarm was sounded loud and clear,
The women who should have answered it — they were all sick: some from hard labour, some from child labour.
Others lost their seats and chances unawares, irretrievably!
Now, you who are listening to me, tell me:
Who is to blame?

(Composed and recited by Angela Baribuganda of Kambuga, Rukungiri District. Recorded from Radio Uganda, with permission, on 28th March 1992, by the researcher. Translated from Runyankore — Rukiga by M.J.K. Muranga).

Although the basic social structure is still disadvantageous to Ugandan women, encouraging positive developments have taken place since the NRM government took over in 1986. These recent developments point to a brighter future, and helped to provide an impetus to this study, and other research on women's issues in Uganda, to provide vital information to supplement and enhance these changes. The changes can only be summarised in brief. In 1986, the NRM government instituted the office of Inspector General of Government, and the Human Rights Commission (with one woman among eight members), both of these have been able to attend to some women's problems (Okumu Wengi 1992).

A new Ministry of Women in Development was established in 1988 and since 1989, a national Commission has been preparing grounds for a new Constitution, and not only are women represented on this Commission by two members, but women's views have been gathered from all over the country through various channels - Ministry of Women in Development, the Resistance Council Committee system, women's NGO etc.. Provisions for a Constituent Assembly which will finally debate the various proposals ensure for a membership of at least eight women (Okumu Wengi 1992, Matembe 1990). Channels for political participation from the grassroots level to the Central Government level through the RC system have already been outlined, but it is important to emphasise their potential influence as power channels for effective change (Matembe 1990, Boyd et al 1990, Okumu Wengi 1992, Ndinawe Byekwaso 1991, Kakwenzire 1990). These changes have been accompanied by significant political appointments of women on important public bodies, leading in December 1992, for instance, to a female percentage of 15% of Permanent Secretaries, 9% Government Ministers, 8% of Ambassadors, 12% of the National Executive Committee (NEC) - the highest political decision-making body in the land, not to mention the 12% female representation in the NRC (Official Invitation List). For the first time, women can join the armed forces, and in 1990 there were at least 20 Commissioned Officers (Matembe 1990). The effect of these developments may not be so widely felt yet, but they are important as a beginning.

Many of the positive changes have their roots in negative effects of civil wars, political turmoil and economic decline. For example some women fought in the civil war and some achieved high-level positions in the public services, partly because their service was more consistent than that of many men who were forced to run into exile. In this connection too, women have sustained the teaching profession during periods of turmoil, although they remain under-represented in positions of responsibility (communication with the Commissioner for Education 1992). Economic crisis has drawn women deeper into the fields of trade and commerce. Although women are still more represented in the informal sector, and in petty trading (Bantebya 1991, Boyd et al 1990) they have moved into wider fields e.g. metal and carpentry work (Katahoire (1989) international trade (Obbo 1991). Economic hardship has probably raised women's interest and efforts in income-generating activities faster than would otherwise be the case. Formation of economic groupings, attempts to exploit existing channels of credit facilities, raising of confidence in this sphere are recorded as good signs for the future. See for example, Kyasiimire's (1992) summary of recent experiences of the Ministry of Women in Development, Culture and Youth regarding income generating and

credit for women, Musoke's (1992) review of similar activities at national level, and OXFAM Workshop Report (1992). All these report rising entrepreneurial spirit among Ugandan women.

Evidence of awareness of gender inequalities within society can be seen in the various ways in which women are being targeted in developmental projects, e.g. by the Uganda Co-operative Alliance (Musoke 1992). It can be seen in national and local seminars and workshops which are now a regular feature widely highlighted by the mass media. Women's activities are beginning to go beyond traditional welfare work, like caring for orphans created by civil wars and the AIDS epidemic, to questioning how such disasters affect women as a group, and advocating solutions, through the law, religious organisations, community work, etc.. At government level, basic data which is essential for planning is being gathered - Review Commissions for the Public Service (1989) Education (1989), National Human Resources and Employment (1989), Household Budget (1989) Demographic and Health Survey (1989) and Population Census (1991). All these developments and activities indicate a new era, which means that this is an opportune time to assess gender inequalities in the education system, so that existing gaps can be filled along with provisions to improve other aspects of Ugandan society.

In analysing barriers to women's access to higher education, the low status that Ugandan women enjoy within their communities will serve as a regular point of reference. It provides the scale against which each barrier can be measured. It sheds light on the extent to which a parent, a girl or society may view education as investment or consumption and act according to whichever view is dominant. The literature review which follows provides further essential background study before tackling specific Ugandan issues concerning barriers and determinants of access to women's education.

CHAPTER 4:
A REVIEW OF LITERATURE ON WOMEN'S CONTRIBUTION TO DEVELOPMENT, INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION AND GENDER INEQUALITIES

The literature reviewed covers four major areas. First it discusses the Women in Development (WID) perspective as a basis for advocating gender equity in the development process. Women's contribution to the economies of their societies exceeds the benefits they receive. This contribution is undervalued by conventional measures of development. If changes could be made, their contribution and benefits would increase. Education is seen as a major channel for achieving this kind of development. Secondly, the human capital concept of investment in education is analysed to show that both state and families act as if they are estimating costs and benefits of educating boys and girls. The concept illuminates decision-making about educational investment. Thirdly, evidence of indirect benefits of educating women is briefly reviewed to underscore the importance of education. Fourthly, social theories of gender inequalities are reviewed, as they help in understanding how and why inequalities in education are created and perpetuated. These inequalities have a bearing on the next section, and central aspect of the thesis, namely, barriers to and determinants of women's access to education, with a focus on higher education. Special attention is paid to the literature on developing countries, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa, of which Uganda is part, since women in rich industrialised countries are relatively more advantaged and may not face the same obstacles and barriers as African women. The literature reviewed covers two broad divisions: that providing the basis for the conceptual framework for the study (4.1-4.4), and literature directly related to previous findings about educational access in Chapter 5.

4.1 WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT (WID) APPROACH

Women make up over half the world's population, are responsible for 66% of working hours, but form only one third of paid workers. They occupy a tiny proportion of top political and decision-making positions, and have access to only one-tenth of the world's property (Decade for Women Conference, Copehagen, 1980). They face special disadvantages in gaining access to public services and jobs education and training, information, means of production, and markets (Collier 1987). This is what constitutes lower status for women, as outlined in the introductory part of Chapter 3. In recent years a number of economists,

sociologists and other development theorists have focused their attention, and that of researchers in international agencies such as UNDP and the World Bank, on the issue of women in development. This focus has been strong enough to generate its own terminology, the establishement of a group in the World Bank dealing explicitly with women in development, and a revision of existing theories of development which is usually called the Women in Development (WID) approach. Advocates of this approach argue that appropriate programmes to involve women in the process of development as full participants and beneficiaries would have a higher pay off than existing activities that neglect women (WID-World Bank 1989, Antrobus in Wallace and March 1991). This section summarises this new theoretical perspective or approach.

Appreciation of the WID perspective requires an understanding of the development process. During the 1950s and 1960s the term "development" was used mainly to refer to economic growth, which was measured in terms of the Gross National Product (GNP) or Gross National Product per capita (Ayot and Briggs 1988, Fägerland and Saha 1989, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985). More recently economists such as Todaro (1977, 1989) argue that development is a multi-dimensional, rather than a purely economic process, and economic growth alone does not necessarily change all sectors of life. It does not bring about all the changes needed to ensure development, which involve reorganising the whole social system, reorganising the whole economic system, changes in attitudes, beliefs and customs, changes in the international economic and social system — all to promote the reduction and elimination of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Lewis (1955) suggested that underdeveloped economies had to get rid of the "dual" system through transfer of labour from traditional to modern sector. Others like McClelland (1961) saw the "achievement motive" as being essential in "modernising" economies. Rostow (1960), on the other hand identified five stages through which an underdeveloped economy had to go, from traditional through to mass consumption. Dependency theorists like Baran (1968) saw the problem as being continued exploitation of poor countries by rich capitalist economies through keeping the former dependent on foreign trade, technology etc. Because the theories of the 1950s and 1960s did not bring about the desired economic change, other theories were advanced in the 1970s and 1980s. "Market" oriented theories (e.g. IMF and World Bank) suggest that poor countries have been applying wrong policies and need "structural adjustment" to restore equilibrium and achieve growth. Others like Fägerlind and Saha (1983, 1989) have emphasised an inter-disciplinary approach where development involves three dimensions: economic,

cultural/ideological and political. Carnoy and Samoff (1990) see education as a vehicle to bring about such changes.

One of the new theories which is applicable to women's situation is the "Basic Needs" approach which defines development not in terms of GNP but in terms of core needs, comprising food, shelter, clothing, health, education, housing and sanitation, clean water and safe environment (Ayot and Briggs 1988, World Development Report 1991, UNDP 1991). This approach is still fundamental, and presently emphasis is on how such development can be measured by means of suitable indicators. Development in the 1990s is no longer measured by how much a nation is producing, but rather how a nation's people are faring (UNDP 1991). Human development, or investment in people is now the concern of a wide variety of development theorists and practitioners (World Bank Reports 1990, 1991, 1988, The Nairobi Forward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women (FLS) 1985, (UN); Survey 1989, WID World Bank 1989). The people-oriented development approach according to UNDP (1991) includes development of people through investment in education, health, nutrition, and social well being. It involves development by the people, through appropriate structures of decision-making, participation in planning and implementation of development strategies, and development for the people by satisfying everyone's needs, and providing opportunities for all. Human Development Indices (HDI) are now used as development indicators, although some lack a data base and still require further refinement (UNDP 1991). Currently such indicators include measures of national income (or decent living standards) combined with life expectancy, education as measured by adult literacy and mean number of years of schooling and other indicators of health or well-being. But these indices still conceal important differences within society. Further indices, which must be measured independently of national income include male/female disparities (which depict wide differences), distribution of income within a country, and measurement of human progress including a "human freedom index", for each country over the years (UNDP 1991 and 1992).

Other international agencies such as UNICEF have emphasised the need for economic development with a "human face" (Cornia et al 1989). Such agencies as UNDP, UNICEF, and UNESCO stress that development is an on-going process, which entails the betterment of the human condition, socially, culturally, politically and economically. Development must affect all members of society equally. It has to be participatory and sustainable. Development increases people's choices, and the most critical choices should lead to a long healthy life, to being knowledgeable,

and to finding access to assets, employment and income needed for a decent standard of living (UNDP 1991).

It now becomes necessary to show that women have not been fully integrated into this process. For a long time, development planners worked on the assumption that economic growth would put an end to poverty. Wealth would reach the poor through the "trickle-down" process (Ayot and Briggs 1988). Researchers have shown that the same reasoning was extended to women — what would benefit one section of society (men) would "trickle down" to the other (women). Boserup (1970) in her pioneering work on developing countries, drew world attention to the role of women in development. She came up with ideas, hitherto ignored, about the division of labour at household levels, community levels, in urban and rural areas, in trade and industry and in education. Rogers (1980), Nelson (1981), Mies et al (1988) among others, advanced Boserup's study further, illustrating that what is considered as development has often had negative consequences for women in developing countries, since issues particular to women have not always been considered.

There has therefore been a call for the revaluation of women's work, to make it visible so that correspondingly visible benefits can accrue (Young (ed) 1984, Mies et al 1988, Young (ed) 1989, Taplin 1989, Joekes 1989, Wallace and March 1991, Momsen 1991). Lewenhak's (1992) work has demonstrated the process of devaluing women's work through "unpaid" or "unrecognised" contributions of motherhood and child care, water and sanitation, health care, food production and processing, textiles and clothing, fuel and shelter, commerce, education and communications, mass media and political power. She attributes the problem to the effect of the "cash yard stick" as an accepted world economic measurement and arrangement. Women's work does not have a cash price tag and where women are in paid employment, their salaries are low. She shows that the accepted world measures of GDP and GNP only cover items which can be valued in cash terms or in exchange for some accepted comodity like oil. Subsistence work, local trade, barter trade etc in which women are most involved, are not accounted for. "Consequently, women's economic contribution is the largest single item of their national economies which has not been counted in national economic indicators" (Lewenhak 1992 p.2). Lewenhak concludes that since women's work has no or little value according to the prevailing standard, nor have they. This, she argues lowers women's status and as Chapter 3 indicates this lowers their general value as part of society which in turn has negative implications for their education.

WID is still relatively new as an approach or theoretical perspective, and its analytical base is still narrow (WID-World Bank 1989). Its main weakness derives from the assumption that all along, women have not been fully involved in the development process, and can now be integrated as full participants, whereas in fact, women have always been involved in development, though their contribution has been under-valued, and women have been victims of asymmetric rights and obligations, made worse by ideological and material conditions (Boserup 1970, Young 1989, Collier 1987, Wallace and March 1991, Mies, et al 1988, Lewenhak 1992, etc). However, the approach is useful in as far as it helps to highlight areas of gender discrimination, thus pointing to specific adjustment requirements. Concern for equity can be traced in the 1945 UN Charter and the 1948 UN Declaration on Human Rights. In spite of this long-standing concern, women's issues have for long not been addressed in many countries' development plans. In the 1950s and 1960s women's issues were subsumed under the general topic of human rights. In the 1970s women's roles became recognised and this is evident in the declaration of the UN Decade for Women (1975-1985). In the 1980s, women were seen as "agents" and beneficiaries at all levels of development. The end of Decade Conference in Nairobi (1985) laid down strategies for continuing this process and since then the UN, its agencies, other international bodies and some national governments have taken up the idea (Brett in Wallace and March 1991).

As the two UN World Surveys on the Role of Women in Development (1986, 1989) have shown, women are still at a disadvantage. Their status has not changed much. Researchers like Sen and Grown (1988) believe that the socioeconomic status of the great majority of Third World women has declined. For example, general economic decline which has led to Structural Adjustment Programmes in many countries neglect provision of social services, thus making life worse for the poor and those already disadvantaged. Problems specific to women, such as lack of control of household finances or lack of property ownership, are not usually addressed. Women's purchasing power is decreased, while the burden of their workload increases (UN Survey 1986 and 1989, Collier 1987, T.P. Schultz 1989 a, WID - World Bank 1989, Cornia, et al 1989, Boyd 1990, Lewenhak 1992).

Just a few indicators illustrate women's low status. In Sub-Saharan Africa the net primary school enrolment ratio for girls is 44% and 54% for boys . The literacy rate is 34% for women and 56% for men (UNDP 1991, World Report 1990). Nutritional anemia afflicts over half the child-bearing age women in developing countries — compared to 7% in developed countries (Sivard 1985, Bisilliat and

Fieloux 1987). Fertility rates are high in developing countries, demographic growth exceeding that of food production (Bisilliat and Fieloux 1987). Economic growth in developing countries was 2.0% while population growth was at 3.0% (UNDP 1991), burdening women further. Family planning facilities are inadequate (WID-World Bank 1989, UN Survey 1989, UNDP 1991). Women in developing countries marry at an early age; 50% of mothers have their first child before age 20 (Bisilliat and Fieloux 1987, Moss in Wallace and March 1991). Infant mortality is high, with Sub-Saharan Africa recording 200 per 1,000 live births in 1991 (UNDP 1991). Sub-Saharan Africa has high maternal mortality rates of 540 per 100,000 compared to Asia at 400 (UNDP 1991, World Development Report 1991). Life expectancy is lower for women in developing than in developed countries (WID World Bank 1989). Discriminatory laws e.g. denying women inheritance rights, ownership of property, etc. still abound (UN Surveys 1986 and 1989, Wallace and March 1991). Male child preference is widespread and examples of maltreatment of female infants including denial of right foods or even selective abortion or infanticide exist in India and China. UNDP has collated data on the male-female balance in live births, in early infancy and childhood and among adults, and has concluded that there is an unexplained difference, representing 100 million "missing women" world-wide, if natural laws and reality are compared (UNDP 1991, Wallace and March 1991).

In spite of neglect or denial of their contributions, women still perform a larger part of work within their economies (Lewenhak 1992). Basing their assessment on FAO statistics, Basilliat and Fieloux (1987) estimate that in Africa, women performed 70% to 80% of the agricultural work, 50% of the cattle raising and about 100% of the conversion of agricultural raw materials. Mwau (in Wallace and March 1991) records higher figures. Although the breakdown of workload between African men and women listed in Table 4.1 was compiled in 1977, references above and in Chapter 3 show that the situation has not changed.

Table 4.1: PERCENTAGE OF WORK TIME (HOURS) SPENT ON AGRICULTURAL WORK BY MEN AND WOMEN IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Type of Work	Percentage of Total Work Time in Hours	
	Men	Women
Cutting down of trees and preparing fields	95	5
Ploughing	70	30
Seeding and planting	50	50
Weeding	30	70
Harvesting	40	60
Bringing in harvest	20	80
Stock-piling harvest	20	80
Transforming food products	10	90
Taking food products to market and selling them	40	60
Pruning trees	90	10
Getting water and fuel	10	90
Taking care of domestic animals and cleaning stables	50	50
Hunting	90	10
Feeding and caring for children, men, elderly	5	95

Source: Bisilliat and Fieloux (1987) — Using Palmer's (1977) Study.

The amount of work performed is not matched by official policy attention. For example in Kenya 35% of small scale farms were managed by women in 1989 (World Bank 1989). In the same country Mwau (in Wallace and March 1991) found that agricultural workers visited men growing cash crops five times more often than women growing same crops. Ten times more female than male farmers had never spoken to an extension worker.

Women's participation in industry is still hampered by their lack of adequate education. Women are still in negligble numbers in money and finance fields. Women are still under-represented in Science and Technology; and those in developing countries have particularly been overtaken by technology advances (UN Surveys 1986 and 1989). In the field of trade, especially in Africa and Asia, women are particularly active but this is not usually recorded in national statistics (UN Survey 1986, Njoku 1980). In paid employment women are still confined to

specific fields of community, social and personal services — clerical, sales etc. with fewer of them in managerial or top administrative positions (Sanyal 1988, UN Survey 1989).

In each of the sections of the economy mentioned above education could be described as the most important lever required to eliminate women's disadvantaged position, particularly in developing countries. Education also would enable society to draw higher benefits from its womankind if women could obtain appropriate access and the right support. Chapter 3 demonstrated how women's low status hinders progress in this field.

As indicated earlier, the WID approach has been observed to have short-comings. For example, analysts like Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) (1988) or Brett (in Wallace and March 1991) argue that the WID programme does not fully involve women; but may be a ploy by the West to continue the exploitation of women through the capitalist economies of the world. They propose other ways of reaching grassroots communities, taking account of what happens at household level; involving women in the planning implementation stages — through to the reaping of the benefits. Others, like Taplin (1989) who discuss the various theories of development; suggest that a "Combination Modes" theoretical approach would be best for women in developing countries. Planning and implementation should involve all members of society, from clan, tribe, nation state up to international level. Despite its short-comings, the WID approach to development theory has led to belated "revelation" and "recognition" that gender inequalities exist. WID has opened ways of making facts visible both at national and international levels. Loopholes in the theory may be overcome in the future through the process of its application, and through new research. This thesis is one such attempt to apply some of the concepts of WID literature to the issue of women's education.

4.2 HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY: INVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

The human capital concept of investment in education is regarded in this study as a consistent link among the factors which affect women's education. This section therefore starts with a brief explanation of the theory, then discusses the intricacies involved in its measurement and applicability, and how these relate to the analysis of decision-making, and the assessment of economic returns to women's education.

(I) Definition and Evolution of Human Capital Theory

Human capital theory postulates that education and training is a form of investment in human beings. Like any other investment, this gives returns, which are reflected in the earnings of educated people. The underlying belief is that schooling creates assets in the form of knowledge and skills which in turn increase the productivity of educated workers (Woodhall in Psacharopoulos 1987, Ayot and Briggs 1988, Williams 1984). As a result, those with more education get higher life-time earnings than those with less or no education. The theory rests on the assumption that workers are paid according to their productivity, and the fact that educated workers earn more than the less educated or illiterates is assumed to reflect their higher productivity. The theory compares investment in physical and human capital and concludes that improvements in productive capacity of educated personnel through general or specific education or training can be as profitable as investment in new machinery or any other form of traditional physical capital.

Those who advance the human capital theory argue that investment in human capital will accelerate economic growth, and point to other types of benefits, discussed below. It should be noted that human capital is more than investment in education, it also embodies health, nutrition, fertility and investment in the general welfare of the people.

It is agreed that the human capital theory was first articulated by Adam Smith (1776) when he compared the value of an educated worker to an expensive machine (Blaug 1968, 1970, Psacharopoulos 1973, Ayot and Briggs 1988, etc). The theory gained prominence when T.W. Schultz (1960) published his study on investment in education in the USA economy.

Before Schultz, for most economists capital was restricted to physical capital. Analysis of the traditional factors of production (land, labour and physical capital) could not fully account for the rapid rate of economic growth. After calculating the effects of physical capital and labour, something remained unexplained - what Denison (1962) and others termed the "residual" factor. This is what Schultz, and others later, attributed to human capital - through formal education, on-the-job training, improved health, adult education and the mobility and migration of workers who were able to respond to changing job opportunities. Becker (1964, 1967) and later Mincer (1974) tried to analyse the rate of return to investment in college and high school education in the USA. Denison (1962 and 1964),

investigated the part played by investment in physical capital, and the part played by labour (in terms of man-hours) in the growth of the USA economy from 1929-1957. He attributed a major part of the "residual" in his analysis to increased schooling of the average worker in the USA — estimated at 23% of the growth in national income, and 42% of growth in per capita income, (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985, Ayot and Briggs 1988).

Since the 1970's many additional studies have been undertaken. Psacharopoulos (1973) was able to show that in 32 developing countries, not only is education profitable, but in many cases, its rate of return exceeds the rate of return to physical capital. He has since updated this to include more than 60 countries (Psacharopoulos 1985). Hicks' (1980) study of 83 developing countries for the period 1960-1977, showed that the twelve countries with the fastest growth rate had well above average levels of literacy and life expectancy. Literacy levels rose with levels of national income, and further analysis by Hicks confirmed the relationship between economic growth and human resource development, measured in terms of literacy and life expectancy. Wheeler (1984) found that an increase in the literacy rate from 20-30% causes national income (GDP) to increase by 8% to 16%, and the relationship was stronger for African countries (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall; 1985).

Various studies confirm that expenditure on education does represent investment in human capital, and that it is a profitable investment, both for the individual and society, and that returns to both forms of capital are higher in developing countries. The manpower forecasting approach to development promoted by economists in the 1960's, such as Harbison and Myers (1964) did not bring about expected economic growth. In the 1970's therefore, "cost-benefit" analysis based on human capital theory became more dominant, although the theory also attracted fierce criticism.

Although economists such as Blaug (1976 and 1985), Williams (1984) and Ayot and Briggs (1988) refer to the "rise and fall of human capital theory" and indicate that it has several weakness and is not likely to become fully accepted, it nevertheless has exerted considerable influence, and the theory has been "revived" as a force in development for the 1990's (World Bank Policy 1988, World Bank Development Reports 1990 and 1991, UNDP 1991). Indeed the WID section has shown that the concept of human capital and "investment in people" is still being applied in new ways.

(ii) Measurement and Interpretation of Human Capital (Rates of Return)

Human capital theorists distinguish between investment and consumption. Investment refers to acquisition of assets which yield benefits over a long time. On the other hand, consumption refers to the purchase and utilisation of final goods and services which bring about immediate but short-lived benefits (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985, Ayot and Briggs 1988). This distinction is important, as education can sometimes be viewed as a consumption, rather than an investment (although at other times it may be regarded as both). In any investment, one has to compare the costs with expected benefits first. Human capital theory has mainly been tested through the cost-benefit analysis technique, which:

> is designed to express all the costs and benefits associated with an investment project, in terms of a single figure; the rate of return, which shows the rate of interest at which the present discounted value of future income is exactly equal to the present discounted value of costs. (Woodhall (in Psacharopoulos 1987 p.21).

In the case of education, one is comparing the opportunity costs of education, either to the individual or society with the expected returns to investing in schooling, training, or on-the-job training. The expected rate of return is a type of cost-benefit calculation that relates earnings that students (and others) expect to receive as the result of their education, in comparison with educational costs (McMahon, 1987). Numerous definitions and estimates of the rate of return, to educational investment are available (See for example, Blaug 1970, Thompson 1981, Williams 1984, Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985, Ayot and Briggs 1988). All agree that the rate of return is an analysis of (current) relationships between education and life time income, and distinguish between the returns which will accrue to the individual — known as the **Private Rate of Return** and those which will accrue to others involved, or society at large, that is, the **Social Rate of Return**. Costs and benefits are defined and measured on the basis of who bears the costs or enjoys the benefits.

There are now estimates of social or private rates of return for over 60 countries. The precise methods of measurement and calculation differ, but all attempt to measure the direct monetary benefits of education in terms of the additional life time earnings associated with different levels of eduation. Table 4.2

summarises estimates of social rates of return to education in 30 countries, based on World Bank data on earnings.

There have also been attempts to measure the effects of education on agricultural productivity in developing countries, using direct measures of agricultural output, rather than earnings.

Table 4.2: WORLD BANK ESTIMATES OF SOCIAL RATES OF RETURN TO SCHOOLING

Group Characteristics	Primary	Secondary	Higher	Number of Countries
All Developing Countries	24.2	15.4	12.3	30.0
Low Income/Adult Literacy Rate under 50%	27.3	17.2	12.1	11.0
Middle Income/Adult Literacy Rate over 50%	22.2	14.3	12.4	19.0
Industrialised	—	10.0	9.1	14.0

Source: Behrman: Economics of Education Review Vol.6, No.2, 1987, p. 119.

Studies by Jamison and Lau (1982) and Lockheed (in Psacharopoulos, 1987) have led to the conclusion that higher levels of formal education increase farmers' efficiency, and that education has a higher pay off for farmers in a changing modernising environment. Farm productivity increases on average by 8.7% (Jamison and Lau, 1982) or 7.4% (Lockheed in Psacharopoulos, 1987) as a result of a farmer completing 4 years of elementary education.

These examples of cost-benefit analysis are used to demonstrate that investment in education can bring returns to society through enhancement of economic output of the country. There are also important benefits which are very widely accepted but present a problem of measurement, as they are not quantifiable. These are generally known as "externalities" or "spillover" benefits, as they improve the wellbeing of society as a whole in addition to the educated individual. They represent "public good" and a long list of possible "spill-over" benefits of education has been suggested but these have not, so far, been incorporated into estimates of social rates of return.

In addition to estimates of the social rate of return there are many estimates of private rates of return that estimate the costs and benefits of education to the individual student or his/her family, and these have been used to explain changes or variations in the demand for schooling or higher education and also to analyse the financing of education and the question of who bears the costs and who enjoys the benefits.

It is not necessary to assume that students or their parents actually calculate rates of return. Economists assume that private decisions about investment in education are made as if individuals are comparing costs and benefits. Williams and Gordon (1981) argue that:

> "An essential step in any model which links private rates of return with the demand for post-compulsory education is that students and potential students are aware of these returns and act upon them. A high rate of return will not influence student decision-making if this return is not perceived" (Williams and Gordon 1981 p.53).

They therefore estimated the "perceived rate of return" to higher education in the UK, based on expected earnings as perceived by students and school-leavers. This important concept is discussed further below.

Solomon, (in Psacharopoulos, 1987), states that although it is clear that the more educated people differ from people with less education, any conclusions to be drawn from this fact depends upon the extent to which education causes the differences, rather than their being due to an intervening factor. The identification and measurement of that intervening factor presents problems and many criticisms of human capital theory have suggested that education acts as a "filter" or "screening device" and earnings reflect factors such as intelligence, sex or social class rather than the effects of education. This means that there are difficulties about interpreting social rates of return, although many economists agree that "there is ample evidence that education makes both a direct and an indirect contribution to economic growth but the chicken-and-egg relationship between education and growth can never be fully established" (Psacharopoulos and Woodhall 1985 p.21). There is however, a further problem which is examined in the next section: that most rate of return estimates underestimate the benefits of women's education.

(iii) Obstacles in the Assessment of Economic Returns to Women's Education

Previous discussion has shown that there have been many attempts to measure the effect of investment in human capital in terms of productivity or earnings of workers. However, in the case of women, relatively little has been done. What one tends to find are general statements, for instance, citing education as being able to increase women's access to vocational or technical training etc., thereby providing more income for women's personal or families' developments (Jabre, 1988). Smock (1981) indicates that there is evidence from industrialised countries to show that women's education positively correlates with the inclination and ability to work, thus stimulating economic participation in agriculture and industry, and results in wider occupational distribution for women. Access to specific education increases parents' aspirations to upward mobility and the urge to improve their economic standing (T.P. Schultz 1989b). Better educated women are more capable of finding strategies for success in wage employment, trade and coping with housework at the same time (Jabre 1988, Smock 1981).

The mere fact that less information is available on women's earnings makes the assessment of rates of return difficult (Woodhall 1973). The few available studies suggest that absolute monetary returns to female education are lower than for men if we use conventional measurements. For example, average women's earnings comprised 74% of male earnings in Egypt, and 66% in the United Kingdom (McMahon in Psacharopoulos 1987). Woodhall's (1973) study considered problems of measuring the rate of return to women's education, using evidence from nine countries. She found that the average rate of return to secondary and higher education was about two percentage points lower for women than for men. The study pointed out that "the higher a woman's level, the closer her income approaches to that of similarly educated men." (p. 277). There were variations among the countries studied and in some cases the rate of return was higher for women (Psacharopoulos 1972 cited by Woodhall).

Woodhall (1973) also found that whereas the earnings of men typically rise throughout most of their working life, women's earnings usually show a decline during child rearing and bearing years, but after that period, the earnings of the more educated women continue to rise with age; whereas women with minimum education never again reach the level of earnings achieved at age 20-25. Mincer and Polacheck (1974) found that it was easier to measure men's work experience, without much error, by the elapsed number of years since leaving school, but that

this was inadequate for women, as they have an interrupted work cycle in the labour force.

The underlying cause of the lower rate of return is the women's reproductive role, which necessitates their breaking off from work (Woodhall 1973, Mincer and Polacheck 1974, Tucto 1988, T.P. Schultz 1991). Reproduction is taken as an alternative occupation to work in the labour force (Shields in Psacharopoulos 1987). Mincer and Polacheck (1974) found that the never-married women spent 90% of their years after they left school in the labour market, while married women with children spent less than 50% of their time in it. This has two effects on the benefits women derive from education in the first place, women's lifetime earnings are reduced if they interrupt their working life to have children. Secondly, employers may decide to pay less to women because they are likely to leave to have children, and this is reflected in sex-earnings differentials. Oaxaca (in Psacharopoulos 1987) attributes the earnings differentials to four factors:

(a) Taste (and prejudice) — mainly based on Becker's approach (1971) which states that a discriminator can forgo many economic returns, in order to avoid transactions with a certain group. It is only when there is high competition that employers who discriminate less can open their doors wider. When there is dire need, gender can be ignored. Boserup (1970) found that when there is unemployment, women are regarded as intruders.

(b) Labour Market Structure: Women are paid less, particularly where there is no competition. Some regulations bar women from entering certain occupations (like mining). This has been described as 'industrial apartheid' creating "women's job" as opposed to men's jobs. This leads to what has been termed the "dual-labour-market", with a division into higher and lower paying jobs, with restricted mobility across the sectors. Higher paying jobs are tied to promotional or career ladders, and are more stable (Barron and Noris 1976, cited by Worsley 1987). Women are concentrated in part-time/informal and the less stable sector within the "dual market" system and this will lower their earnings.

(c) Imperfect information — employers sometimes believe that women are less productive in certain jobs. Individual women are therefore judged on the basis of the group's characteristics, and not on individual merit. Those who are taken on are paid less than men because they are regarded as a risk.

(d) Sex differences in labour market skills — the material and family responsibilities are believed to account for male/female differences in human capital investment. The female working cycle is intermittent, and therefore, it does not pay, it is argued, for women to invest in job skills at the same level as men. Women work shorter periods and lose accumulated skills, and it takes time to recoup the skills.

The above cited reasons imply that the use of earning differentials to measure the effect of education on women's productivity does not capture the full contribution women make to economic activity because it neglects unpaid work. It is difficult to measure this in monetary terms but when this is attempted most estimates of the value of unpaid work show lower values for men than women (King, 1990). There are many other economic benefits which can only be measured in indirect terms as the next section illustrates, but which are not measurable by the conventional rate of return techniques (Woodhall 1973, Mincer and Polacheck 1987, Tucto 1988, King and Hill 1991). The apparent lower returns to women's education work against further investment into women's education. When this is combined with other influences reviewed under "access factors" the economic benefits appear even less. All these distort parents' and employers' perceptions about the benefits of educating women. The difficulties of making economic returns to women's education visible are still many but as Woodhall (1973) concluded "the belief that education for women is unprofitable as an investment, either for society, or for the individual, is unfounded" (p. 294). For women in Sub-Saharan Africa, the ultimate benefits of investment in their education are further blurred by their social conditions illustrated in the previous section and in Chapter 3.

(iv) The Concept of Human Capital in the Analysis of Decision-Making

In agreement with Foster (in Psacharopoulos, 1987) this study concludes that the positive aspects of human capital theory outweigh its limitations. The theory, and particularly its application through cost benefit analysis technique, has become a useful tool in explaining or guiding investment decisions as illustrated below. Cost-benefit analysis is viewed here as a guide to (a) public and (b) private investment decisions.

(a) Public investment decisions

The relevance of cost-benefit analysis to public investment decisions can be summarised as follows:

- We are reminded continually that individuals, and society must carefully assess issues, choose viable alternatives when making economic choices (Morris 1977, Ayot and Briggs 1988).
- The cost-benefit analysis technique is useful in circumstances where the price charged for a service cannot appropriately reflect the demand for it (Morris 1977), and education is a clear example of this.
- The cost-benefit analysis technique is most applicable to allocation of resources (Morris, 1977):
  (1) Where resources have to be diverted from other services to education by the state;
  (2) Within the education sector, where to allocate more or less funds, for example, higher education as opposed to basic education;
  (3) Where there is need to choose between types of programmes leading to the same qualifications, e.g. whether vocational training should be offered in the traditional way or provided solely through on-the-job training method.
- The theory provides a means by which crude and partial estimates of the economic consequences of educational expansion can be made (Foster in Psacharopoulos1987).
- It is also a guide for decisions about the financing of education, as the relative social and private returns assist to decide whether the cost should be borne by the student or the state.
- Private rates of return provide some guidelines to the direction in which student demand for additional education might move, e.g. choice of courses.

(b) Private investment decisions

Very important decisions concerning investment in education are basically carried out at family level. The human capital concept of investment is central in such decisions, even though, as emphasised above, it is not suggested that families actually calculate rates of return. Williams (1984) distinguishes the question whether schooling explains earnings differences and why it does. While governments are concerned about "why", what

matters to the family is not why, for instance, a university education leads to increased earnings, it is the fact that it does which is significant to individual decision-making. Gordon and Williams (1977) demonstrated that families are aware of this fact and that perceived rates of return can influence decision making.

This study, however, does not attempt to use cost-benefit techniques to estimate rates of return, or even "perceived" rates of return in Uganda, as data on earnings are not available. Instead, the concept of investment in human capital is used to "unearth" the underlying explanation as to why less attention is paid to girls' education in comparison with boys. The argument examined in this thesis is that human capital theory and the concept of investment in education help to illuminate decision-making and help to explain why both the state and families act as if they are estimating and comparing costs and benefits of educational investment. Consideration of returns specific to women's education, summarised in the next section, clarifies further the relevance of this concept.

4.3 THE INDIRECT BENEFITS OF EDUCATING WOMEN

Benefits of educating women were summarised in Chapter 1 section 1.4, as part of the justification for this study. In this section, a few more studies are cited to emphasise further the need to recognise that investment in women's education should not solely be judged against direct tangible benefits. Also, limitations concerning measurement of the effect of education, e.g. by separating monetary and non-monetary returns to education, have been discussed under the previous section.

Firstly, in Sub-Saharan Africa, not only is agriculture the backbone of many economies, but it has already been illustrated that women perform more agricultural work than men. A study of the productivity of men and women farmers in Sub-Saharan Africa found the gain in productivity from education to be larger for women than for men (King 1990). Education will enable women to gain more from the much needed extension services and credit and co-operative arrangements.

Secondly, education can reduce the likelihood of maternal death (Tucto 1988) and make women freer to seek and receive medical advice more easily. It has been shown that the most important health worker for children is their mother and therefore adequate knowledge is beneficial (Barrera 1988 cited by T.P.

Schultz 1991). A few examples of this include a UN Study (1985 cited by UNDP 1991) which found that each additional year of maternal schooling reduced child mortality by at least 3.4% after the effects of all other variables. Behm and Hugo (1979) Latin America, cited by Tacto 1988) found that the probability of a child dying before age 2 slopes downwards as education of mother increases. In Nigeria, mothers with primary education experienced 42% less child mortality than mothers having no formal education and those with secondary education 36% less (Caldwell 1979).

In Nigeria and the Philippines, mother's education is so important in determining child mortality that it makes up for the absence of medical facilities in the country (World Development Report 1991). Although the linking mechanism between mother's education and level of child survival is not so clear-cut, it has been pointed out that personal and domestic hygiene which schooling facilitates; and knowledge of causes of disease, their prevention and cure and the nutritional requirements of infants and children are important results of education. Education also gives mothers a wider social network; new reference groups; more models to look up to, identification with the modern world, and it enhances innovation.

Thirdly, children of educated mothers have better chances of receiving an education, and succeeding at school. They have the appropriate environment, and this is especially beneficial to girls, who are more likely not only to receive basic education, but to go beyond and complete the educational ladder (Jabre 1988). The effect of maternal schooling is significantly greater than that of her male companion (Wolfe and Behrman 1984).

Fourthly, for developing countries in particular, rapid population growth is regarded as a threat, for, coupled with poverty, it creates a vicious circle — threatening general welfare with high birth rates, high infant and maternal deaths, and a depleted environment (World Development Report 1991). Studies by Cochrane (1979, 1980), Smock (1981), Jabre (1988), UNDP (1991) support the view that the capacity to control one's family size is closely linked to wife's education. Cochrane's (1979, 1980) studies indicate that education can lead to fewer children through later marriage ages, and less demand for children because of lower infant mortality rates. In Africa women with seven or more years of schooling tend to marry 5 years later than do women with no schooling (T.P. Schultz 1991). Awareness of the cost of children, knowledge of contraceptives and increased communication between couples have been shown to be influenced by education and to lead to smaller family sizes (Cochrane 1979, Smock 1981, WID-

World Bank 1989, King 1990). Education creates a sense of control over one's life and can enable women to abandon negative traditional patterns of life (Tucto 1988). Education creates a sense of control over one's life, by means of choices, such as whether and when to get pregnant, and it enables women to abandon any negative traditional patterns of life as Tucto's (1988) review of the literature on the effect of women's education on health has shown.

Lastly, education of women has been shown to result in positive attitudinal changes, resulting in longer-term social benefits. It changes the image women have of themselves, creates greater self-confidence, increases independence of thought, social mobility and a widening of outlook (Smock 1981). This is important with regard to tackling inhibiting cultural traditions. Silliman's study on Nepal, Egypt, Indonesia, Tanzania and Peru, provides evidence for such effects, which are supported by Mwau's study of Kenya (in Wallace and March 1991). Education enables women to analyse their problems, and organise themselves for collective problem-solving, with a more open approach to life (Smock 1981, Tucto 1988). It has also been observed that education helps women to participate more in local settings, play a greater role in communal decision-making, and gain increased authority at family and cultural level (Jabre 1988, Smock 1981).

These benefits outweigh the alternative of denying women education (T.P. Schultz 1991, King 1990). They are enjoyed by both the family and society in general. They enhance general development,but are overshadowed by economic tangible benefits. They still require to be made more visible if they are to be used as a strategy for raising **female capital investment in education**. It is through recognition of these numerous benefits that a "virtuous circle" (King 1990) can be formed for the good of society.

4.4 SOCIAL THEORIES OF GENDER INEQUALITIES

There are consistent economic, social and political disparities between men and women across societies and no single explanation seems to have been able to account for this fully (Fägerlind & Saha, 1989). This section briefly summarises such explanations as exist and provides reference for consideration of barriers to women's education. Although the explanations are mainly based on analysis in Western societies, they provide relevant background to unearthing causes of gender inequality in the Ugandan case study.

Over the period of written history attempts have been made to trace the origins of gender inequalities and to pin-point the actual cause. Agonito (1977) in her book on the history of ideas about women provides an account of varying explanations of theories ranging from St Paul, Aristotle and Plato to more modern feminist thinkers like Wollstonecraft, Simone de Beauvoir, and Betty Friedan. Many other feminists like Millet (1970), Mitchell (1971), Daly (1973), Rich (1979), Chodorow (1978), Jaggar (1983), French (1985) etc have added to the wealth of interpretations (See Tong 1992, for a comprehensive up-to-date analysis of feminist thought). Whatever the explanation, there has been agreement on the existence of universal male **domination**, or **patriarchy** for centuries, although the extent and form varies widely (Worsley 1987). Engels (1884) attributed patriarchy to the beginning of ownership of property and subsequent subordination of women in order to ensure inheritance, or the need to ascertain that men are fathers of children of their wives (Hume 1888, Hobbes 1841 etc cited by Agonito). For that reason women are not always free to control pregnancy (Stromquist 1990). Patriarchy exists at family-social levels, and in ideological political systems. It is reflected through ritual, tradition, law, language, etiquette, education and division of labour (Rich 1976 cited by Arnot and Weiner 1987).

One important way in which male dominance has been perpetuated is the interchangeability, in society's view, of the words **gender** and **sex**. Robert Stoller (1968) cited in Worsley (1987) distinguishes between "sex" and "gender" as a way of separating the natural from the cultural components. He stresses that the only natural differences are the biological ones of sex (See also Millet in Arnot and Weiner 1987, Oakley 1981, Shapiro in Langland and Gove 1991). On the other hand "gender" has come to refer to the culturally and socially shaped cluster of expectations, attributes, and behaviours assigned to that category of human beings by the society into which the child is born (Einstein in Arnot and Weiner 1987, Worsley 1987). Understanding "sex" and "gender" is important for appreciation of theories about gender inequalities, as most people find it hard to believe that most of what we think of as sex-difference is in factor gender-difference. Current cultural environments world-wide tend to present gender differences as natural, and not social (Worsley 1987).

Social theories of gender inequality have been classified in various ways (Mies et al, 1988). Tong's (1992) classification into liberal, Marxist, radical, psychoanalytic, socialist, existentialist or postmodern provides a useful general guide. However, for this discussion we shall use as our base the groupings provided by Acker (1984, 1987) combined with those of Sayer (1984, 1987).

Acker's grouping seems to capture all possible explanations, in relation to education. She divides these theories into two major divisions: **Fundamental approaches** which attempt to explain why women are subordinate to men, and **Implementary (or Social Interaction), approaches** which try to show **how** process and practice maintain women's subordination.

4.4.1 The Fundamental Approaches

Acker divides these into two sub-groups: (i) those which emphasize **social structures**; and (ii) those which emphasize **human nature**.

(i) **The social structure** group is sub-divided into three:-

(a) The Functionalist Approaches: believe that gender roles are a consequence of the relationship between biological differences and the needs of an increasingly differentiated society. Sexual division of labour has to be linked to the needs of society which has to organise and maintain production and distribution of resources and to ensure loyalty to social roles and norms. "Differentiated and unequal gender roles serve to maintain an integrated and orderly society through consensus" (Fägerlind and Saha 1989 p.168). Schooling is believed to be an important means by which basic allegiancies to society are inculcated, and a means to ensuring that advanced training goes to those most suited to it, and according to their talents (Acker 1984). The functionalists therefore advocate equal rights for women and men, based on merit rather than birth or social positions. They want substantive reforms in the education system and believe that the state can bring about greater gender equality so as to improve the relationship between men and women — complementary but equal (Fägerlind and Saha 1989, Middleton in Arnot and Weiner 1987). Gender justice is emphasised (Tong 1992).

(b) The Marxist-Feminist Approaches: These theories became more pronounced in the 1970's and 1980's. They attribute the gender inequalities to the rise of capitalist and class societies. They see the family as a unit linked to the labour market by the husband's relationship to production. Women produce the labour force biologically (child-bearing) and socially (child rearing) and through day-to-day care of men, act as consumers for the products of capitalism, and serve as a source of psychological and material comfort for alienated male workers. The argument is that the class structure itself is responsible for women's inequality and

that short of a radical restructuring of the economy, the most that can be expected from the capitalist state is lip-service to greater equality but passive tolerance of continued existence of gender inequality. The capitalist system exploits women (See Tong 1992 for fuller explanation). They are confident that in a new socialist state, gender inequality will be eradicated (Fägerlind & Saha, 1989). The Marxist-feminists argue that education reinforces the division of labour in the economy and the family. For example, certain courses and subjects are offered on the assumption that sexes have different needs and interests, vocational schools are reserved for males, etc. Criticism of this approach is basically that it cannot address gender inequality in a non-capitalist state, and yet there is evidence that even before capitalism, women were subordinate (Vogel 1983, Worsley 1987, Fägerlind and Saha 1989). It is also viewed as paying little attention to the oppression of men by women through its concentration on class structure (Tong 1992).

(c) The Radical-Feminist (or Socialist-Feminist Approach): The radical feminist approach is rather recent and has been strengthened by the Women's Liberation Movement in the West and direct political action (e.g. womens' wages, promoting women's businesses). This approach partly embraces the Marxist view since it accepts that capitalism can and does co-exist with patriarchy. The state plays a role in the reinforcement of patriarchy. Radical feminists like Rich (1976) argue that it is not enough to eradicate capitalism, patriarchy must be abolished completely (Fägerlind and Saha 1989). They see women's oppression as the deepest form of human oppression (Tong 1992). Radical feminists point out that schools and colleges shape female identity and encourage subordinate roles for women, but add that school experiences make women accept this inferiority. They argue that men control and define knowledge through curricula, and methods of transmission of knowledge and harassment in classrooms (joking, abuse, degrading girls and women) (hence the creation of Women's Studies Programmes across the world to fill in gaps and eliminate biases). Patriarchy assumes the superiority of men in all aspects of cultural and institutional life and therefore unless there is a fundamental change here, women will remain subordinate to men. This approach is sometimes criticised for focusing on a descriptive rather than an explanatory base. It is very strong on the present (what is happening on the ground now) but weak on psychological explanations (Middleton 1981 in Arnot and Weiner 1987). The theory is, however, most appealing because it presents women's problems as a group problem which can be changed by political action and pressure (Middleton 1987), and has led to a great change in understanding women's problems (Tong 1992).

(ii) **Explanations** emphasizing **human nature** have been further sub-divided by Sayers (1984, 1987), who makes a distinction between psychology and gender divisions, under four headings:

(a) Biological Determinism

Any explanation of psychological sex differences must take into account the fact that the sexes differ biologically from each other, that biology directly determines the psychological differences between male and female. Freud's thesis that anatomy is destiny (1965) has had influence on this theory (Mies, et al, 1988). This approach has been used to account for sex differences in performance in science or psychological tests, and to argue that women are better equipped psychologically to care for children, and that boys are more aggressive than girls, which helps to prepare them for the competitive struggles of occupational life (Gray 1981 cited by Sayers). The theory has strong connections with Darwin's theories on the Origin of the Species (1859) and The Descent of Man (1871 cited by Sayers 1987 and Agonito 1977). Obstacles still stand in the way of this theory. Wollstonecraft's contention (1792, cited in Agonito, 1977) that women are not debased by anything inherent in their nature, but by the lifelong habitation to which they are subjected by social forces has been supported by many other feminists, Mies et al 1988, Vogel 1983 etc). It has been suggested by opponents of this theory that what has been attributed to biology is better explained in terms of socialisation.

(b) The Social-Learning Theory

It is argued that a child acquires his or her knowledge and repertoire of sex-typed behaviours on the basis of observation modelled by parents, teachers, and other children. Whether the child imitates these behaviours depends on whether or not he/she has observed that rewards are experienced when the behaviour is performed by someone of his or her sex. Everyday life is full of images, assumptions and languages emphasizing differences between men and women; the commonest example of which (in the Western world) is in the use of different toys, for boys and girls (Worsley 1987). Language and actions are taken for granted and seemingly natural. The process eventually influences girls' performance and interest in educational activities. The stereotyping of school subjects as "female" or "male" might be explained by this theory (Sayers 1984, 1987). The loophole in this theory is that parents do not necessarily reward their

children for sex-appropriate behaviours and children's sex role concept and behaviour are not necessarily exact models of those around them (Sayers 1984).

(c) The Cognitive-Development Theory

This argues that it is neither biology, nor society, but their conceptualisation by the child that determines gender development. The child starts to categorise itself as either a boy or a girl at about age three; and then starts valuing the objects and activities associated with its sex. This process is said to be firmly in place by age 5 - 6. The theory states that this process leads to sexist approaches by the child. There are still, however, some unexplained areas accounting for individual differences in gender development (Sayers 1984).

(d) The Psychoanalytic Approaches

These emphasize physical differences of the sexes. The foundation of this theory was established by Freud (1965) who argued that the psychological differentiation between the sexes is initiated by the 3 or 4 year old girl's interpretation of genital sex differences in terms of castration and "penis envy". This discovery continues on into adult life, where the consequences may be either neurosis or a masculinity complex, whereby she behaves like a man, e.g. by pursuing intellectual and professional goals (Agonito, 1977). On the other hand, the male child identifies with his mother genitally to start with, fears the father may retaliate and eventually identifies with the father (Sayers, 1987). Freud's theory advanced Aristotle's theory that a woman is a mutilated or incomplete man (Agonito 1977). Feminists have opposed Freud's theory, arguing that this construction is socially, not biologically, determined, given the male dominated environment (Mitchell, 1974, Simone de Beauvoir 1972, 1974, Friedan 1965 cited by Sayers). They claim Freud is talking symbolically more than has been recognised. Some of the studies reviewed by Sayers indicate that mothers handle their infant daughters differently. It has for instance been suggested that the reason girls do so well in primary schools compared to secondary schools may be because the former are mainly staffed by women teachers, who like mothers identify with the girls, thus facilitating their progress (Chodorow 1979, cited by Sayers). The theory is criticised for assuming that psychological sex divisions fit men and women well into existing sexual divisions in society. This assumption is also made by those who believe that education is meant to socialise girls and boys for their expected roles in society and Sayers (1984) cites evidence of protests from the women's movement about such attitudes. The approach does not take into

account the effect of legal, political or economic institutions (Tong 1992). This approach is what feminists like Simone de Beauvoir (1974) opposed, and argued that "biology sets forth facts that society will interpret to suit its own ends" (Tong 1992 p.203). Tong refers to this alternate version as existentialist feminism.

4.4.2 The Implementary (Social Interaction) Approaches

These approaches focus on the processes and practices which maintain women's subordination (Acker 1984, 1987, Fägerlind and Saha 1989). Rather than structures, the implementary approaches focus on the socialisation processes whereby women acquire attributes which make them unsuitable or inappropriate for certain social positions and economic activities in society. They argue that maleness and femaleness are not biological givens, but rather the result of a long historical process (Mies et al 1988). Girls are socialised into traditional personality traits of their societies, which in turn restrict their choices and options. Within this framework, the way boys and girls are raised in the home, taught in school and encounter the wider society, becomes important for explaining gender inequalities throughout life (Fägerlind and Saha 1989). Acker explains that these approaches are akin to "liberal" or "women's rights" versions of feminism. They show that women are prevented from full realisation of their talents by intended or unintended consequences of social conventions and practices. What matters is not why women are subordinate, but what should be done about it. Opportunities must be increased, discrimination fought, and stereotyping abandoned; they stress. Implementary approaches explain how women came to attain their subordinate positions. In so doing, Acker argues, they explain how the survival of capitalism or patriarchy, or society itself is accomplished by everyday events.

Broadly, an analysis of social theories of gender inequality reveals fundamental differences between those who believe that gender-based subordination is deeply ingrained in the consciousness of both men and women, as a natural corollary of the biological differences between them and those who believe that gender differences reflect social conditioning (Sen and Grown 1988).

Postmodern feminists, including French feminists like Cixous (1981), Irigaray (1981) or Kristeva (1982) — cited by Tong (1992) address issues relating to where women are currently. They attempt to remove women from the periphery to the centre, from disadvantaged, unprivileged, marginalised etc positions. They are however, criticised as being elitist intellectuals, cut off from mainstream society and

lacking a co-ordinated explanation. What all the various versions of gender inequality point to is the multiplicity of explanations and the evidence that these are ever changing (Tong 1992).

Finally, there are also widely differing views on **the role of the State.** Stromquist (1987) argues that the state determines which collective benefits and services should be made available to individuals and groups. The state has power to make interventions. As a development agent, the state is in a position to address the real problem facing education, which "lies in the structure of the educational system, its institutional framework, its competitive ethos, and the very fact that it is a steeple chase" (University of London and International Extension College, 1991 p.86). The manner in which this can be done is not agreed. For example, Marxist-feminists require the state to restructure the economy, while radical and socialist feminists see the state as playing a role in the enforcement of male patriarchy and would require that this be abolished. Through the control and production of knowledge, the state is also seen as perpetuating the inequalities by ensuring that women will be imbued with a commitment to the traditional social and sexual division of labour. Functionalists require the state to provide equal educational opportunities to enable all those who are able to benefit. The important role of the state is considered further in Chapter 5.

In considering educational access factors in the next chapter, it is necessary to take account of social theories of gender inequalities, assumptions and explanations. For example, the Functionalist approach can relate to the assumption that sexes have different needs, interests and vocations and therefore courses and subject arrangements should reflect these. The Radical-Feminist approach relates to female under-representation and evident male control of and dominance in educational structures. Biological determinism can be used, rightly or wrongly, to account for poorer female performance in science and mathematics. The social learning theory can be applied to show how pupils, teachers and parents accept some gender-explainable issues, like division of labour, as if they were sex-based. Female pupils are likely to be influenced by the psycho-analytic approach and not identify with the more dominant male personnel within the system. Finally, the capacity of the state to influence access factors is clearly relevant, but this is another issue on which there is wide disagreement. The purpose of this research is not to try to resolve such disagreements. However, social theories of gender differentation help to suggest which factors may be important in influencing access.

Chapter 5:
FACTORS INFLUENCING AND DETERMINING EDUCATIONAL ACCESS

This chapter reviews general factors which influence and determine educational access. As elsewhere emphasis is on Sub-Saharan Africa, although evidence from other developing countries, and occasionally from developed countries will be cited where appropriate. The factors are reviewed according to Hyde's (1991) three-fold classification of family, society and institution, and because this study focuses on higher education, there is a brief discussion of the influence of alternative "models" of higher education on access, and the nature of higher education institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa. Finally, a summary distinguishes the varying effect of these factors on boys and girls. The chapter is organised as follows:

- The Meaning of Educational Access
- The Access Debate
- Access Factors — family, societal and institutional
- The Nature of Higher Education
- Summary of Access Factors with a gender differentiation.

5.1 THE MEANING OF EDUCATIONAL ACCESS

Collins dictionary gives two major meanings of the word "access". The first is "the state or condition of being approachable or easy to enter", and the second refers to "the right or privilege to approach, reach, enter or make use of something." It is submitted here that the level of women's under-representation in higher education makes both meanings applicable. One could ask what makes higher education less approachable, less easy to enter for women than men; or indeed whether men have more right or privilege to enter higher education. In educational terms, access measures the proportion of an eligible group who enrol in a particular educational level (Smock 1981, International Encyclopedia of Higher Education 1977, UNESCO World Education Report 1991). Access levels are reflected in two indicators: literacy rates and educational enrolment rates. More emphasis is placed on the latter as this study is about formal education.

Illiteracy rates are higher for women world-wide. Even in countries where universal primary education has been achieved, literacy is still a matter of concern

as some proportion of the population do not achieve or retain functional literacy (World Education Report 1991). The world average illiteracy rate was 29.9% in 1985. In Sub-Saharan Africa the literacy rate was 64.5% for males and 43.3 % for females and the actual number of illiterates increased from 133.6 millions in 1985 to 138.8 millions in 1990. The illiteracy rate for the region will remain among the highest in the world (UNESCO/UNICEF 1990).

Sub-Saharan Africa shows the lowest **enrolment rates** in the world, at all levels of education for both males and females. As table 5.1 shows, female rates are lower. Variations occur at country levels. For example, in Sub-Saharan Africa, only Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland show higher female enrolment figures at first and second levels of education (UNESCO/UNICEF 1990, Duncan 1985, Lockheed and Verspoor 1990, Hyde in King and Hill 1991).

"Access" in the educational context leads to questions of **equality of opportunity**. There are many interpretations as to what is meant by equal opportunities and due to the extent of existing disparities, some people have wondered whether "equal means the same" (Byrne 1978, 1987, Dupont 1981, Sutherland 1981). Coleman (1990) concludes that it is not possible to achieve complete equality of opportunity but that we should aim at reducing inequality, since otherwise the process would involve uprooting the whole social system. Levin (cited by Finn et al, 1980) found equality of opportunity to involve:

(i) equal access to the educational system for individuals, regardless of social circumstances;
(ii) equal participation in the educational system (equal chances to take part or share in the system);
(iii) equal educational results: equal gains.

The fairness of the educational system has been called into question for years (Piper 1981, Acker and Piper 1984). That gender inequalities exist is not in dispute. What is in dispute however, as the rest of this chapter shows, is what factors influence and determine access and what can be done to reduce inequalities.

Table 5.1: MALE AND FEMALE GROSS ENROLMENT RATIOS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION IN 1970 AND 1990 (PERCENTAGES)

	1970					
	First Level		Second Level		Third Level	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
WORLD TOTAL	95.8	80.0	40.7	**31.5**	10.4	6.5
Developing Countries	93.1	73.5	29.6	17.8	4.2	1.8
Sub-Saharan Africa	56.7	36.0	9.9	4.4	0.8	0.2
Arab States	77.9	46.4	28.1	12.5	6.3	2.0
Latin America/Caribbean	91.9	89.4	26.3	24.6	8.0	4.5
Eastern Asia/Oceania	107.9	94.5	33.1	23.6	1.6	1.1
Southern Asia	87.1	53.2	30.7	31.1	7.4	2.2
Developed Countries	104.2	103.5	77.3	76.2	27.3	19.3
North America	103.5	102.8	92.6	93.6	52.8	37.8
Asia/Oceania	101.7	101.4	85.5	84.8	24.6	10.2
Europe/USSR	105.6	104.5	73.8	71.6	19.4	15.0
	1990*					
WORLD TOTAL	104.9	92.3	57.3	46.7	15.0	11.9
Developing Countries	105.5	90.4	50.3	37.5	10.1	6.5
Sub-Saharan Africa	73.5	59.9	21.2	13.8	2.8	1.0
Arab States	92.3	74.2	60.2	44.9	15.6	9.5
Latin America/Caribbean	111.4	107.2	55.7	59.6	19.3	18.2
Eastern Asia/Oceania	124.6	114.9	58.7	47.7	7.3	4.9
Southern Asia	100.8	75.1	47.8	28.2	12.1	5.3
Developed Countries	10.20	101.1	93.5	93.8	37.0	36.5
North America	103.0	101.4	98.4	99.5	66.7	74.1
Asia/Oceania	102.2	102.4	95.9	97.8	38.8	26.6
Europe/USSR	102.5	101.7	93.2	93.1	27.6	27.0

*Estimates

Source: World Education Report, UNESCO (1991) p.53.

5.2 THE ACCESS DEBATE

Issues of access became topical, at international level, in the 1960s through the work of UNESCO. Interest stemmed from Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) particularly Article 26 which states that everyone has the right to education and calls for free and compulsory education in the elementary and fundamental stages; and for access to technical, professional and higher education. Article 1 of the UNESCO Convention Against Discrimination in Education (1962) defined discrimination to include "any distinction, exclusion, limitation or preference which, being based on race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, economic condition or birth, has the purpose or effect of nullifying or impairing equality of treatment in education....". Article 2 clarifies areas which reflect discrimination e.g. on religious or linguistic lines and Article 4 calls for the formulation of policies to promote equality of opportunity e.g. free and compulsory primary education, accessible secondary and higher education and similar standards in public institutions. The UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (1981) extends this debate further, particularly through Article 10 which details areas where discrimination should be eliminated. These include provision of same conditions for career and vocational guidance at all levels of education and for both urban and rural areas; same curricula, and quality of institution; removal of stereotyped concepts of the roles of men and women, same scholarship opportunities, same chances for continuing education, reduction in female drop-out rates and access to specific educational information.

In spite of these strongly worded international conventions, discrimination in education on grounds of sex is still evident. Some national governments have also passed laws against discrimination on this basis (See Rendel's 1973 comparison of British and American Affirmative Legal Provisions). However, the right rules may be in place but their application or enforcement may not be easy (Sutherland 1981, Byrne 1978, Spender 1989, Association of American University Women (AAUW) 1992). Furthermore, it is often difficult to distinguish clearly between discrimination on grounds of sex and other forms of discrimination, for example, on grounds of social class, regional differentiation, race, language or handicap. Although these are not the main subject of this study they sometimes impinge on or exacerbate gender issues, and need to be taken into account in analysis of factors determining access. Two examples illustrate the way factors may be inter-related. The Masai people of Kenya do not utilise available educational institutions (Smock 1981, Nkinyangi 1982). Co-educational instituitons may be made available but due to

religious practices, Moslem girls may be unable to utilise them (Kelly 1987). Such findings call for deeper analysis to unearth the underlying causes of inadequate utilisation which in effect constitute barriers to access.

5.3 ACCESS FACTORS

Analysts of women's education in developing countries have grouped access factors under various headings, including social-economic and demographic conditions; national policies; institutional factors; or household and individual background (Smock 1981, Kelly and Elliot 1981, Chamie, 1985). Others, like Brock and Cammish (1991) have classified such factors under geographical, socio-cultural, health, economic, religious, legal, political/administrative, and educational.However, one of the most useful and clearest methods of catergorising these factors is the one used by Hyde (1991), in her study on Sub-Saharan Africa. She provides a framework which conveniently encompasses Ugandan access factors and this has therefore been adopted for this study. The factors are classified under (A) **Family factors;** (B) **Societal factors;** (C) **Institutional factors**, and subsequent discussion falls within this framework.

(A) FAMILY FACTORS

(i) Parental Attitudes

Decisions to enrol a child in school, and to keep him or her there are made at the family level by parents. Blakemore and Cooksey (1982) observe that these decisions are influenced by the level of parents' motivation and aspiration. Their perception of costs and benefits of education are therefore very important. While factors of finance or availability of "suitable" institutions are clearly important, so too is parental inclination. This is a factor which runs through the many research findings on sex bias in education. For example findings of Lewis et al (1990) in Malawi indicated that although 85% of the girls who dropped out of school attributed this to lack of school fees, it was really a matter of parents' method of prioritizing their finances. Kainja and Mkandawire's study on Malawi (cited by Lewis, et al, 1990) revealed that faced with financial constraints, 31% of the parent's interviewed would choose to send their sons to school, 10% opted for girls while 59% indicated they would try to send both groups. Similar attitudes on the part of parents were found in Peru (Gertler and Glewwe 1990). The main explanation for this male-child preference seems to lie in the way parents view

education, either as a consumption or an investment. Gertler and Glewwe (1990) suggest that the consumption aspect "asserts that parents prefer their children to be educated as an end in itself, regardless of the financial benefits of education", while the investment aspect "proposes that education is valued because it brings with it financial (or other) returns which are valued by parents. These two aspects combine to create the overall demand for educated children by parents" (p.4).

(ii) Mother's Influence

The positive influence of mother's education on her children's educational attainment and achievement has already been discussed under sections 2 and 3 above. There is also evidence that lack of education on the part of mothers will have an adverse effect on girls' access to schooling. Ilon's (1991) analysis of Malawian school records showed that girls' enrolment tended to be higher in districts with more educated mothers (judged on the educational exposure of adult women in the district). Mother's attitude to children's schooling has been found to be influential on child persistence, and provides relevant educational support where attitudes are positive (Wolfe and Behrman 1984, Jabre 1988, King and Hill 1991).

(iii) The Socioeconomic Status of the Family

There is no doubt that parental ability to pay school fees and meet other educational expenses is an important factor in girls' access to schooling (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982). Sutherland (1981) observes that "the difficulty of finding resources for education in developing countries throws into sharper relief the attitudes of the various societies towards the education of boys and girls respectively" (p.46). Odepunon's (1983) study of Nigeria showed that parental inability to pay fees was cited by 80% of his respondents as the cause for dropping out of school (cited by Hyde 1989). Ilon's findings in Malawi on school drop-outs (boys and girls) was: lack of fees (85.3%); truancy 10.5%; pregnancy and marriage; (1.4%); illness (1.7%); lack of interest (1%), (Based on records of 67 schools with 41,995 children and a total drop-out of 8,872 in the group, and 9,401 repeaters). Even where there is "official" Universal Primary Education (UPE), additional costs in the form of uniforms, books, transport, expenses etc, may still constitute a financial barrier to schooling (Chamie 1985). Nkinyangi (1982) points out that after the establishment of UPE in Kenya in 1974, schools started to levy funds for building, equipment, or to request pupils to bring their own bedding and cutlery.

Another revelation is that children of educated and professional parents and particularly girls, are more likely to attend and go through schooling up to higher education, than children of uneducated parents (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982, Datta 1984). Biraimah's (1987) study on the University of Ife (Nigeria) confirmed earlier studies at the University of Lagos (Nigeria); that male students had backgrounds reflecting fairly well the full socioeconomic spectrum, while female students appeared to be more of an elite group, coming overwhelmingly from an urban upper and middle class background, where he suggests traditional roles may be less emphasised. Rich farmers, businessmen, top professional and civil servants are more likely to send their children to school. Poorer parents may often be able to afford to educate only some of their children even when education is free (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982). Edwards (1982) terms this ***social apartheid.*** T.P. Schultz (1991) observes that as parents earn more their aspirations for their children also rise.

(iv) Family Labour

Contribution to the welfare of the family through the labour of its members is particularly vital in developing countries. Working on the family farm, collecting fuel wood and water and other household chores like cooking, looking after younger siblings to enable the mother to do more work, etc. have been found to fall more on girls than boys (UNESCO/UNICEF 1990, Lockheed and Vespoor 1990, Smock 1981, Kelly and Elliot 1981, Kenya World Bank Study 1989). Girls are expected to perform greater work and at an earlier age than boys (Chamie 1985). King and Hill (1991) report that in Java and Nepal girls spend at least a third more hours per day than boys of the same age working at home and in the market. Csapo's (1981) study of Northern Nigeria revealed that in most communities where mothers are not allowed to move around urban/market areas, young girls are often asked to carry out the trading on their mother's behalf. Mbilinyi (1969) found domestic labour to be an obstacle to girls' schooling in Tanzania, and so did Eshiwani (1982) in Kenya. Girls may therefore not be enrolled at all; their schooling may be interrupted from time to time in order to provide family labour; or they may be withdrawn from school permanently. Lewis et al (1990) state that there is full school attendance by girls in Malawi during the month of November when there is little farm work, and least attendance during May when it is harvest time.

On the other hand it has been found that the division of labour at family level can also work negatively for boys. In Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho, where higher enrolment rates have been recorded for girls than boys in primary and

secondary schools, the main explanation has been the type of work carried out by boys. Boys are expected to perform animal husbandry chores — work which keeps them away from villages in outlying cattle posts. Historically too, boys have had to replace adult men who work in the mines in South Africa and Botswana. Boys' roles conflict with school attendance and since they are involved in income generating activities, including mining, there is a tendency for them to leave school early (Duncan 1985, Chamie 1985). In this case, the mechanisms of cost-benefit analysis are applied to the benefit of girls instead. In most cases the reverse is usually true in Sub-Saharan Africa.

(B) SOCIETAL FACTORS

(I) Socio-cultural Factors

All cultures carry images and values about men and women and the roles appropriate for them. Although these vary from one country to another, Dupont (1981) points out that they all reflect the idea that women are inferior to men. This inferiority may be conceived in physical, psychological or intellectual terms; and is used to justify or explain the restrictions placed on women. A society's views about women reflect the values of that society and shape attitudes, values and self-images of girls in that society. Family structures then determine women's roles, responsibilities and degree of independence — the general status; including employment chances. All these factors according to Dupont (1981) and Duncan (1985), combine to produce stereotypes of sex roles appropriate in a particular culture. These values and norms are assimilated by individuals and help to shape their attitudes, preferences and behaviour. These attitudes affect educational behaviour by engendering certain expectations and beliefs about school subjects, in compatabilty with the sex role stereotypes (Duncan 1985). The effect of this is reflected in sex differences in educational provision and achievement. (See institutional factors).

One of the ways in which these images and values are reflected is through **kinship and lineage**; and **inheritance systems**. Lineage and kinship can be used interchangeably to mean "families that descend from a common ancestral line with the eldest patriarch or matriarch the lineage elder" (Taplin 1989, p.45). In patrilineal kinship units, the lines of descent, inheritance and authority pass through the male line, with the male being regarded as the most important member of the kin unit. This is necessary to ensure continuation of the descent line. In this

system, daughters are given off into marriage, because the brothers are dependent on their sisters' bride wealth for their own marriages. Women as wives and mothers are controlled by the husband and his group. Women's function is to produce heirs to continue the line. Continuation of this line is vital as to die without an heir is the end of everything (Taplin 1989, Erny 1972). On the other hand in matrilineal societies authority is held by the male (husband) but lines of descent and inheritance are through the female line, where the maternal uncle is supreme. The wife's line of descent is stronger here. Taplin (1989) cites Africa, south of the Sahara as a region with examples of matrilineal societies although she does not mention specific examples. Although matrilineal arrangements mean increased woman-power, and have been influential in parts of West Africa, this study will concentrate on the behaviours found in patrilineal systems, as found in Uganda.

The importance of kinship, lineage and clan in present day Africa cannot be overemphasised (Cameron 1970, Tiberondwa 1978, Blakemore and Cooksey 1982, Sifuna 1990). Erny's (1972) wide-ranging research on the 'cultural enviroment' of the African child led him to conclude that the kinship system regulates most of the social relations:

> "without kinship, which gives a sense of belonging and a human status, who ever is cut off reverts to nothingness". (Erny, 1972, p.36 of Wanjohi's translation).

It is not suprising therefore that under patrilineal system boys are regarded as the more valuable species. In Kenya boys are given financial and social support to strive for excellence in the various tasks, in order to maintain the cultural status quo. If social customs place more responsibility on sons than daughters and the former are expected to look after their parents in old age, then parents have a stronger incentive to educate their sons, even if the net returns to education are the same for boys and girls (Martim 1985). This confirmed Eshiwani's (1982) finding that patrilineal descent systems was a major reason why Kenyan parents withdrew girls from school in favour of boys. This is again supported by Abe's (1977) observation about Nigeria; where parents expect more help from their boys than from their girls. Earnings of an educated girl are enjoyed by her husband and his family family, and this reduces women's potential assistance to their parents (cited by Sutherland 1981).

It is important to emphasize here that customs are still regarded as central among the various communities of Sub-Saharan Africa; so much that they may

serve to perpetuate any practice in the simple statement 'it is our custom'. What Erny observed in 1972 is still prevailing.

> "Custom precedes man, it is a pre-established order from which it is impossible to break loose. To conform to it is to make oneself acceptable to the community at every level, and to benefit from it's favours; to turn away from the established order is almost to exclude oneself, to excommunicate oneself." (p. 100).

This is an essential tool in analyzing barriers to women's education, as it provides a leader to the overall group of explanations generally termed "cultural", to which custom will demand adherence. A brief discussion of some cultural beliefs and practices which are regarded as major barriers to girls' schooling follows.

The institution of marriage

In African communities, it is out of the norm for any mature person to remain unmarried because marriage gives one social identity. Spinsters and bachelors are not respected members of society. It is not possible to provide a continental-wide picture of marriage practices here, as these are so varied. It is hoped that the Ugandan experience (outlined in Chapter 3) will be able to stress the importance of this institution. Boys and girls grow up knowing that marriage is an ultimate duty and particularly so for girls. This fact influences girls' schooling in several ways.

Firstly, because society expects girls to get married, and be 'looked after' by their husbands, their education is not taken as seriously as that of their brothers. Girls are channelled to some professions like secretarial work, where they can temporarily be placed until they get married (Smock 1981). The importance attached to marriage leads to the practice of early marriages. Studies have shown that where girls are married between the ages of 15 and 19, enrolment rates at those ages are lower (Bowman and Anderson 1980). Studies on Sub-Saharan Africa point to early marriages as one of the causes of school-girl drop-out (Chamie 1985, Csapo 1981, Smock 1981, Eshiwani 1982, Ilon 1991 or Lewis et al, 1990).

Secondly, girls' aspirations tend to be directed to marriage rather than to working careers. There do not seem to be many studies in Sub-Saharan Africa which have attempted to measure girls' attitudes and aspirations to marriage. Perhaps it is taken for granted that marriage aspirations would rank very high. It is

interesting to note that where such studies have been carried out, e.g. the UK, marriage featured highly as the girls' 'expected job' by age 25 (Spender 1989).

Thirdly, teenage pregnancies limit access, particularly in developing countries. Statistical evidence is not always available but the impact of teenage pregnancies cannot be ignored (Chamie 1985, Lewis et al 1990, Ilon 1991, Hyde 1991, Namuddu 1992). Anxiety about such pregnancies occurring encourages parents to withdraw daughters from school once they reach puberty. The researchers cited above point out that the situation is aggravated by the fact that once these girls get pregnant, they are officially expelled from school permanently. Since teenage fathers are not expelled, either for causing pregnancies or getting married, the gender gap gets even wider.

The fourth effect of marriage systems is the practice of payment of **bride price/bridewealth or dowry**. Depending on patterns, this can be a central part of the marriage institution. In India, for example, families pay dowry to the bridegroom, resulting in low status and adverse treatment of female children. On the other hand, in African communities, it is the man's family who pay the father of the woman; either in cash or in kind, mainly with the use of cattle and other animals. Sometimes the bride-price is influenced by "market forces" which may lead to the withdrawal of girls from school, if a higher price is payable for younger women (Sutherland 1981). Hyde (1991) on the other hand, records one of the few occasions in Zaire, where a higher bride-price for educated girls led to more parents sending their daughters to secondary school. Unfortunately, this development does not seem to have spread much further. The importance attached to marriage, and in an effort to ensure that bride-price will be procured, early betrothal of school girls may take place, thus demotivating school girls (Malawi studies by Ilon, 1991 and Lewis et al 1990). Brock and Cammish (1991) also found that overemphasis on marriage and related issues of early marriages and bride price payment practices presented barriers to girls' persistence rates in Cameroon and Sierra Leone.

Lastly, although this study does not focus on how females fare once they have entered higher education, it is perhaps necessary to point out that marriage continues to influence their access, either as postgraduate students or academic staff. Spender (1989) illustrates how women cannot seriously follow up their careers until they know who they will marry, his attitude to work, where the couple will live, etc. Acker (1980) shows marriage and work cannot easily be combined by academic women. Marriage and family duties were found to be one of the most

important constraints on career development of academic women at the University of Zimbabwe (Dorsey,et al, 1989).

(ii) Religion

Religion can be a barrier to girls' education depending on its teachings and practices. Islam in particular has been found more restrictive than other religions. Women and men are not supposed to mix; thereby reducing, if not ruling out co-educational schooling. Koranic teaching and schools expect women only to be able to read the Koran and therefore there has been no great need for them to continue to higher education. (Tiberondwa 1978, Njoroge and Bennaars 1986, Sifuna 1990). In rich Islamic states — like the Arab oil-rich countries (e.g Saudi Arabia), expansion of girls' education has been realised because the country can afford to train in single sex institutions (King and Hill 1991). However, in the poorer countries evidence is that Moslem girls face more barriers than other girls. Csapo's (1981) study on northern Nigeria, (predominantly Moslem), showed that girls in this region lagged behind in education due to various reasons. There was traditional antagonism to Western education in an area where Islam had preceded Christianity. School interfered with early Islamic marriages. Islam regards men as superior to women and many parents saw education as a barrier to accepted trends of life. There was fear of moral laxity and little political support to encouarge girls' education. The last reason is supported by other studies in East Africa (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982, TIberondwa 1978, Sifuna 1990). Some other religious practices have also been shown to be detrimental to girls' education, e.g. the Hindu religion which suggests that a wife should play a subordinate role to her husband, or the Roman Catholic tradition of glorifying the woman's role as wife and mother. Such practices do not enhance girls' aspirations to academic achievement (Sutherland 1981).

It appears that religion alone may not be able to explain low enrolment rates for girls in a region. Even in a predominantly Moslem culture like northern Nigeria, Csapo (1981) found that economic considerations were important.

(iii) Residence

The single most important determinant of primary school enrolment is the presence or absence of a school within easy reach of primary school age children (Lockheed and Verspoor 1990, Datta 1984). There are several ways in which this

factor determines access to education of both boys and girls in developing countries.

(a) **Historical:** Western type of education was first introduced to Sub-Saharan Africa by missionaries (Wandira 1972, Tiberondwa 1978, Ssekamwa and Lugumba 1973, Furley and Watson 1978, Blakemore and Cooksey 1982, Sifuna 1990). This meant, therefore that educational opportunities were not equitably distributed. It all depended on the first areas to be "opened up" by missionaries, and to the extent of colonial penetration. Such differences are reflected in levels of urbanisation, cash-crop production, growth of trade, the exchange economy and employment opportunities (Datta 1984, Blakemore and Cooksey 1982). Coastal regions of Sierra Leone and Nigeria started off with better and more educational facilities than northern parts in the same countries. In East Africa, coastal areas had a strong Moslem influence and therefore missionaries entered the "more receptive" inland areas of Kenya and Uganda, resulting in early concentration of educational facilities among the Kikuyu and Baganda peoples (Cooksey and Blakemore 1982). In Southern Africa, education of the indigenous people was neglected in favour of white settlers, e.g. Zimbabwe, Zambia (Cooksey and Blakemore 1982). Boys' education was attended to first, and female access to formal education is therefore a "second wave" phenomenon (Adams and Kruppenbach 1987). In addition, when vocational and technical education was introduced, girls were not catered for, and they continue to be grossly under-represented in this field (Datta 1984, ILO 1992).

(b) **Urban and Rural Disparities:** "The urban/rural access to schooling is an important independent cause of educational inequalities" (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982 p. 57). The International Council for Educational Development estimates that fewer than one half of rural children in most developing countries complete four or more grades in school (Lockheed and Verspoor 1990). In the Sudan for example, in the rural province of Western Equatoria, enrolment rate for females in primary schools was 28% versus 60% for males (Chamie 1985). UNESCO World Education Report (1991) shows that Sub-Saharan Africa is more rural than other developing countries, indicating the level of deprivation. Table 5.2 illustrates the situation.

Table 5.2: PERCENTAGE OF URBAN POPULATIONS 1990 (SELECTED COUNTRIES)

Region	Country	Percentage/ urban
Eastern Africa	Burundi	7.3
	Ethiopia	12.9
	Kenya	23.6
	Uganda	10.4
	Rwanda	7.7
	Somalia	36.4
	Tanzania	32.8
North America	Barbados (lowest)	44.7
	Canada (highest)	76.4
South America	Guyana (lowest)	34.6
	Venezuela (highest)	90.5
Western Europe	Portugal (lowest)	33.3
	Belgium (highest)	96.9
Asia	Bhutan (lowest)	5.3
	Hong Kong (highest)	93.2

Source: World Education Report (1991), Table 1, p.106-109

(c) **Lack of resources:** Teachers are less attracted by rural areas (Lockheed and Verspoor 1990). There is less availability of scholastic materials including textbooks, furniture and other equipment. In general, there is lack of reinforcement for education in the rural environment such as modern forms of mass media. Because of these disparities, rural children migrate to urban areas to seek better schooling (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982). This presents more constraints for girls whose parents may not be willing to let them move long distances.

(d) **Language:** This has been seen to present a problem, particularly for rural areas. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the language of instruction is often that of the former colonial country although a local language may be used in addition. English, French and Portuguese will require a lot of support materials since they are not first languages of such populations. Conditions are more inadequate in rural areas (King and Hill 1991, Namuddu 1992, Lockheed and Verspoor 1990, Datta 1984).

(e) **Distances:** from school have a negative effect on enrolment. The Research Centre for Innovation and Development in Nepal record that for every kilometre of distance a child had to walk to school, the likelihood of attendance dropped by 2.5%. In Egypt 94% of boys and 72% of girls enrolled when there was a school within 1 kilometre. When the school was 2 kilometres away the

percentage dropped to 90% for boys and 64% for girls (Lockheed and Verspoor 1990). Chamie (1985) cites similar experiences in Algeria. Children who live a long way from school are prone to absenteeism and fatigue. In Tanzania in 1975 absenteeism was much better explained by distance than by socio-economic characteristics of the home (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982). Some rural primary schools are incomplete. Pupils have to join other schools outside their immediate vicinity; and this particularly increases constraints for boys and girls (Lockheed and Verspoor 1990).

(f) Variations in the Prescribed Curriculum: Because of lack of material and financial resources, it has been found that rural schools tend not to follow fully the national curriculum, and therefore rural children get less out of their schooling. In Liberia, 73% urban schools followed the prescribed curriculum compared with only 38.7% of rural schools (Lockheed and Verspoor 1990).

(iv) Ethnic Sub-culture and Social Stratification: It has been argued that the ethnic sub-culture of an area can influence ideas and attitudes which affect motivation and level of aspiration for schooling (Datta 1984, Blakemore and Cooksey 1982). The Ibo culture (Nigeria) will produce people who are more likely to strive for higher income, status and political power, and take up new educational opportunities, than their neighbours. This is contrasted with the Masai people (Kenya and Tanzania) who are not likely to take up such opportunities even where compensatory measures are provided (Datta 1984). These findings are not conclusive, but there is evidence to show that intracountry ethnic differences in attainment do exist. This again will affect girls' educational opportunities in various ways. For example in 1981, in Nigeria, the Yoruba people formed 17% of the population but comprised 50% of all university students. When they were combined with the Ibo, they formed not more than 20% of the population and yet the two groups comprised two thirds of university students.

> "Irrespective of parents' financial means and educational aspirations for their children, the culture of home and community affect educational chances" (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982 p.53).

(v) The link between education and employment: has been identified as a barrier against women's education, particularly at higher education level (Burgess 1981, Finn et al 1980, Bowman and Anderson 1980, Spender 1989, Sutherland 1987). The perceived link between education and work, in an economic system where males have better prospects for wage jobs in the formal sector, has provided an additional economic consideration in decisions to educate

sons ahead of daughters (Eshiwani, 1982). This is one of the main ways which the human capital concept of investment tends to work against women (Acker 1980). Sex roles are perceived as making higher education irrelevant to women's needs. Mbilinyi (1969) found this to apply in Tanzania. A study in Pakistan revealed that society's view in general was that it was not necessary for women to go on to higher education, since they were unlikely to seek employment (Smock 1981).

(vi) **National Policies:** There is evidence that national policies do sometimes treat girls and boys differently (Lockheed and Verpoor 1990). A scrutiny of the various national policy documents indicating national concerns show that gender does not feature strongly (Byrne 1978, AAUW 1992). Lungwangwa (1988) when calling for attention to the education of women in Africa, observed that "thus far, educational development in Africa has been guided by gender insensitive developmental policies" (p.15). He points out that "human capital", and "modernisation" theories which guided development policy in the past were concerned with the rationalisation and standardisation of manpower for the production and consumption of goods and services only. The manpower approach to educational development focused on how to produce high level manpower regardless of social constraints affecting individuals. At regional (African) level, Lungwangwa illustrates how none of the previous important educational conferences during the two decades after independence paid attention to this topic. These include the Addis Ababa Conference (1961) which set out priorities in African Education; the Abidjan Conference (1964) on literacy programmes; the Dakar Conference (1974) on Science and Technology, the Lagos Conference (1976) on innovation, reforms and cultural identity, etc. Indeed, the widespread use of the word 'manpower' instead of terms such as 'human resources', could be interpretred to mean that women were not presumed to form part of this high-level personnel, and is another indication of how women's contributions are undervalued or made invisible.

One of the ways in which state policy impinges on girls' access to education is through actual provision of educational institutions. UPE was seen as a sure way of removing sex disparities at the basic level, but this has proved difficult because of financial handicaps (Chamie 1985). Presence of a secondary school in a location acts as a stimulant to the general public as far as increasing school enrolment, but more of boys' schools than girls' schools are usually provided (Kenya World Bank Study 1989 and Datta 1984). While the financial aspect is not denied, several scholars have observed that the implementation of universal enrolment is also a question of political will (Smock 1981, Silliman, 1987, Kelly

1987, Stromquist, 1990, Chamie 1985). They all point out that awareness and willingness of political leaders can make a change in women's access to education e.g. through establishment of appropriate institutions. Through the monopoly of formal education, the state shapes the supply of schooling (Stromquist 1992), and there is evidence to show that males are always more catered for in the provision of boarding facilities (Byrne 1978, Dupont 1981) thereby directly aiding increased male enrolment rates.

Government policy can also determine "openness" or otherwise, of an educational system. Winnowing or filtering systems through examinations at various stages limits access, basically for everyone, but more so for those already at a disadvantage (Nkinyangi 1982, Burgess 1981, Fulton 1981, Gould 1974 and Sutherland 1985a). National policies can be formulated to intervene where such problems are encountered. State policy can also limit access through eduational investment in such a way that the burden falls on parents. Girls are then likely to be withdrawn in favour of boys (Smock 1981, Chamie 1985).

(vii) Economic conditions of the country: The economic conditions of any country will influence educational opportunities of all its citizens. When these conditions are unfavourable, those already at a disadvantage will suffer more. Evidence of this has already been shown through the socio-economic status of the family. The gap between girls and boys is largest for the poorest countries and effectively disappears for high income countries, at least at primary and secondary levels (Gertler and Glewwe 1990). Table 5.3 shows that even when countries are classified by region, the gap remains higher among the poor countries, with Sub-Saharan Africa showing the greatest gap. At country level, economically better off regions show higher levels of schools enrollment as illustrated for Nigeria and Ghana (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982) or Kenya (World Bank 1989).

A summary of the economic situation in Sub-Saharan Africa illustrates the need for a viable economy if education has to expand. The economic decline of the 1980's has led to the familiar term **"The African Crisis"**. The crisis is described as so pervasive that it has not left any aspect of social life untouched. Africans are now believed to be economically worse off than they were thirty years ago (Chole 1991). Several important regional and UN sponsored intervention plans have been devised throughout the 1980's without success so far. "Per capita GNP growth was negative (-1.7% a year) between 1980 and 1989, and wages of modern sector workers dropped 30% on average between 1980 - 1986" (UNDP

1992 p.40). There has been reduced spending on social services, with education, primary health care and provision of safe water receiving less and less funds.

Table 5.3: SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY SEX IN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES 1986

	Primary Enrolment Rate		Secondary Enrolment Rate	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
By Income	113%	92%	42%	27%
Low income	108	100	57	50
Lower-middle	107	101	71	67
Upper-middle	107	101	71	67
High Income	103	102	91	92
By Region				
Sub-Saharan Africa	73	58	20	12
East Asia	131	117	50	39
South Asia	98	69	41	22
Latin Ameria/Caribbean	110	108	54	56
OECD	103	102	92	94

Source: World Bank (1989 from Gertler and Glewwe (1990, p.3)

Note: All rates are gross rates and thus may be greater than 100 since some of the children enrolled may be older than the age group normally associated with a given level of schooling.

"Primary school enrolment had jumped between 1965 and 1980 from 41% to 79%, but by 1988 it had fallen back to 67%" (UNDP 1992 p.40). Africa's share of global trade between 1970 and 1989 fell from 3.8% to 1%. Its share of global GNP between 1960 and 1989 has dropped from 1.9% to 1.2% and yet its population is 9.5% of that of the world. Some 20 African countries are currently carrying out IMF Adjustment Programmes (UNDP 1992). Out of 39 countries in the Sub-Saharan region, only 12 have full universal primary education (Hyde 1991). Sub-Saharan Africa is the only region where the percentage of GNP allocated to education dwindled, going from 5.2% in 1980 to 4.4% in 1986. Expenditure per capita dropped from 33 dollars in 1980 to 15 dollars in 1986 as table 5.4 shows (Unesco/Unicef 1990).

Table 5.4: ESTIMATES OF PUBLIC EXPENDITURES ON EDUCATION FROM 1980 - 1986 UNICEF/UNESCO

Continents	Public Expenditure (In millions $)					
	Total		% of PNB		Per capita $	
	1980	1986	1980	1986	1980	1986
Africa	18377	18748	5.3	5.9	42	36
Africa* (S. Sahara)	10772	5845	5.2	4.4	33	15
World	818655	786414	5.5	5.5	144	165
Asia	102951	154627	4.5	4.6	41	56
Europa	236828	320418	6.2	6.1	389	475
America	10205	11220	5.6	5.6	453	456
Oceania	10205	11220	5.6	5.6	453	456

* Without Arab States

Source: UNESCO/UNICEF Special Breda - Stat 1990 (p.42)

What is clear is that for the region, economic conditions restrict access to educational opportunities. M.J. Kelly's (1991) study on education in a declining economy, using Zambia as a case study demonstrates this. Social services are undermined in favour of the 'productive' sector. Governments can only attend to the more visible aspects of the education sector like keeping classrooms full; and to those with a powerful lobby lever like universities. Those with a weaker lobby capacity suffer and this includes the disadvantaged groups — rural, disabled, and girls.

(C) INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

Institutional factors may open up chances to girls' schooling or present barriers. It is accepted that schools have a socialising effect on pupils (Datta 1984). They can be a reproduction centre of gender inequalities (Spender 1981, Dupont 1981, Acker 1984). If schools do not meet pupils' and parents' expectations, then they are not accessible (Bowman and Anderson 1980). Several barriers to girls educational advancement fall into this category.

(i) School facilities: School facilities determine the quality of the school, which in turn influence achievement and attainment of the pupils. Availability of textbooks, good laboratories, school furniture etc and numbers and qualified teachers are important indicators of quality. Heyneman and Jamison's (1980)

study of 61 Ugandan primary schools, indicated that the increasing availability of textbooks, would pay great dividends. Mwamwenda and Mwamwenda's (1987) study of 51 schools in Botswana confirms the positive impact of adequate school facilities. They assert that the quality of education as reflected in achievement cannot be divorced from school facilities such as classrooms, furniture and reading material. Eshiwani's (1982) study in Kenya gives lack of adequate teaching facilities for science as a strong explanation to why girls are under represented in higher education. The African educational crisis is reflected in inadequate school facilities and equipment (Unesco/Unicef 1990).

Inadequate school facilities lead to other shortcomings in the system, the major one being increased failure and class repetitions rates. These lead to high pupil drop-out rates (Chamie 1985, Lewis et al 1990). On average, girls are less likely than boys to persist in school after an episode of grade failure or poor academic performance in a given standard (Lewis et al 1990). Boys are more encouraged to repeat, while early marriage practices present a disincentive to girls. Sub-Saharan Africa is known to have high repetition rates, although data is not easily available. Of the 17 countries where data was available, only 4 countries showed a downward trend in the percentage of repeaters (Malawi, Sao Tome, Burundi and Burkina Faso) (Unesco/Unicef 1990).

(ii) **Curriculum and subject options**: All countries have an agreed general curriculum that schools should follow at various levels. Sex differences have been observed in the type of curriculum offered and option arrangements, particularly at secondary school level. Some people have argued that sex role stereotypes within society have helped to create "female" and "male" subjects so that even when options are offered pupils are likely to choose subjects which have been identified with their sex (See Byrne 1978, Dupont 1981, Spender 1989, Arnot and Weiner 1987). Whatever the explanation, girls tend to take the arts and humanities subjects (Duncan 1985). One explanation is to be found in 'the social learning theory' where through daily life experiences, certain assumptions about men and women get to be accepted and taken for granted whether correctly or not. Through this socialisation, subject stereotypes are created; and accepted. Duncan (1985) suggests that subject stereotypes mould pupils' attitudes towards specific subjects resulting in sex-linked differences in participation and performance in school. Eshiwani's study (1982) confirms the influence of attitudes as he reports a prevalent belief among Kenyan girls that they could not do sciences and be beautiful ! There is evidence that girls perform less well in science and mathematics-based subjects. Eshiwani's detailed study of Kenya (1982), on

performance at secondary school and university levels showed that girls were under represented in science based courses and performed less well than boys. Martim's (1985) analysis of Kenyan 'O' and 'A' level results for the years 1981-1983 showed that males' performance was superior at 'O' level. At 'A' level girls performed better except in Physics and Chemistry. Duncan's findings in Botswana (1985) show that girls performed less well in sciences, and this is supported by Dorsey et al (1989 in Zimbabwe).

Adequate explanation is yet to be found although the following reasons have been advanced:

(i) Society's assumptions about men and women: including parental expectations (Harding 1987, Lockheed and Gorman, 1987 cited by ILO 1992).

(ii) Absence of suitable role models (Harding 1987, Byrne 1988, cited in ILO 1992, UNESCO/UNICEF 1990).

(iii) Differential treatment by teachers.

(iv) Masculine image of science (Harding 1987 cited by ILO 1992, Byrne 1978, Askew and Ross 1988).

(v) Home and peer environments (Lockheed and Gorman cited by ILO 1992).

Many researchers have found that the organisation of subject options, within the school time-table can limit choices for either sex, through what Dupont (1981) refers to as the **"options... but compulsory" route**. This happens in several ways. In a co-educational school, girls may be required to take separate and/or extra lessons in mothercraft and homecraft specialities, as she found the case to be in Portugal. In single sex schools such subjects may be the only available "suitable optional subjects", as she found in Jamaica. Subjects may also be offered in such a way that boys will take lessons in metal work or woodwork at a time when home economics or cookery classes are going on. Girls therefore are technically barred from attending the other lessons (Byrne 1978 Spender 1989, Dupont 1981). In other words the curriculum programmes emphasise sex role differences. This was found to be happening in Botswana (Duncan 1985), and Zimbabwe (Dorsey et al 1989). Women face particular barriers in technical education. Technial and vocational education tended to be neglected in the initial stages of establishing

formal education in Sub-Saharan Africa. Academic education was given more emphasis and gained more popularity among students. The situation has not changed much. In 1992 vocational and technical students were estimated to form around 5% of secondary school students and although this state of affairs is not unique to Sub-Saharan Africa, serious economic problems of the region make readjustment difficult. Girls are inadequately prepared at Secondary School Level since fewer of them offer Science and Mathematics (Eshiwani 1982 on Kenya). Lack of adequate role models is also confirmed by ILO (1992) findings, summarised in Table 5.5. This means that girls are deprived of one important channel to higher education, although it has to be pointed out that female higher participation in science-based courses alone will not eradicate their under-representation in the education sector.

Table 5.5: STUDENT ENROLMENT IN SELECTED POLYTECHNICS IN NINE AFRICAN COUNTRIES, 1989

Polytechnic	All programmes		Technical programmes	
	Total students	% female	Total students	% female
Yaba College of Technology, Nigeria	8510	25	3862	12
Kenya Polytechnic Nairobi, Kenya	3488	24	2627	17
Accra Polytechnic Ghana	2498	30	1083	1
The Polytechnic Malawi	1033	14	664	3
Dar es Salaam Technical College Tanzania	955	7	955	7
Botswana Polytechnic	621	5	621	5
Uganda Polytechnic	566	9	566	9
Technical Training Institute The Gambia	532	40	265	11
Northern Technical College, Zambia	495	2	495	2

Source: ILO/CAPA (cited in ILO, 1992 p. 18)

(iii) The "hidden" curriculum has been cited as a limitation to access in that girls are channelled in some direction which may limit their advancement to higher education. The "hidden" curriculum has been described as those non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any levels of the public rationales for

education (Vallance in Giroux and Purpel (eds.) 1983). Masemann's (1974) study of the hidden curriculum in a West African girls' school in Ghana effectively portrayed this type of education. He demonstrated that although the expressed goal of students and parents was completion of secondary schooling, there was also the "finishing school" aspect which prepared girls for marriages to a young man of similar or usually higher educational attainment. Hence much of the school routine, presence of married educated teachers living with their husbands etc., socialised girls in their future roles. This has been typical of girls' schools elsewhere in the region. Such schools limit girls' aspirations to higher academic careers.

(iv) **Influence of school textbooks and children's literature**: Although the effect of sex stereotypes in school textbooks has been pointed out as a demotivating factor in girls' schooling, the extent of this effect may not easily be illustrated (Chamie 1985). It has, however, been demonstrated that girls and women do not feature highly as participants in school textbooks except as mothers, wives, nurses etc. (Spender 1989, Arnot and Weiner 1987 and 1987). Efforts to promote positive portrayal of men and women in school textbooks has been carried out outside Sub-Saharan Africa — China, Norway, France, Asia etc. (Unesco 1985). In the first instance, the problem is to make textbooks available in this region; but a trace of this bias has been pointed out. Ghanian and Kenyan textbooks were found to be still carrying the (British) colonial tone of depicting women as housewives and mothers (Smock 1981). A more recent example is from Malawi where Mayer (1991) cites a text book showing drawings of boys doing science experiments while girls stand behind them passively watching. Negative images of girls and women in the mass media are illustrated in Chapter 3 for Uganda. Girls are denied positive role models to emulate in this respect.

(v) **Influence of teachers**: The influence of female teachers has been found to be an important motivating factor. As role models, female teachers motivate girls to enrol and increase their persistence rates (King and Hill 1991, UNESCO/UNICEF 1990). Chamie (1985) cites UNESCO studies in Nepal in 1975 where girls' attendance increased when the number of female teachers increased. Eshiwani (1982) noted that male teachers tended to be impatient with girls, especially during science and mathematics lessons. The world-wide picture of percentages of female teachers at the three levels of education illustrates that Sub-Saharan Africa has the lowest percentages, especially at second and third levels. UNESCO/UNICEF (1990) estimated that the total number of female teachers in this

region was less than one quarter of all teachers, and at the higher education level female teachers represent less than 10% of all teachers in Sub-Saharan Africa.

On the other hand, both male and female teachers have sometimes been found to have a negative impact for girls through classroom interaction. Their attitudes have been found to be biased in favour of boys, one of the persistent explanations to lower achievement by girls is lack of encouragement by teachers. This is discussed further in the next section.

(vi) **Type of Educational Institution**: This section considers barriers that may be created by the type of educational institution provided. These comprise **Co-educational and single-sex schools**; and **Day and boarding schools**.

Day schools do not provide the good learning environment which boarding schools offer. On the other hand, boarding schools are expensive to run and therefore become accessible to fewer students, although they are sometimes preferred by parents for girls. The practicability of day or boarding schools depends mainly on economic conditions of the country. This discussion pays more attention to co-education and single-sex schools because evidence exists to show that boys benefit more from co-educational schooling and yet this is a form of schooling which is not only widespread but should also lead to wider access for girls, were the shortcomings to be removed.

Co-educational Schools: The question of whether boys and girls should be educated together has been a thorny one since the introduction of co-education. The main issue in the context of this study is that co-education is one of the strongest routes through which unequal education is provided, and it is on this basis that co-education and single sex schooling are compared. Simpson (in Lasser 1987) explains that co-education, as a system of education, and as a term, originated from the USA around 1874. She describes it as efforts of educators to "educate men and women together in the same space, although not for the same place". It is not agreed as to what percentages of either sex is required so as to constitute a co-educational (or merely "mixed") school (Rossi in Lasser 1987). Half of either sex is the ideal (Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) 1985).

The debate about co-education was revived in the 1960's with the momentum of the women's movement in the western world. The original idea was that co-education would offer the same type of education to girls, since girls'

schools tended to have poorer facilities and were understaffed (Woods 1920 cited by Brehomy in Deem 1984). A scrutiny of this has shown that these high expectations are not always realised. Research (mainly carried out in the West) has shown that in fact teachers pay more attention to boys. In the UK, teachers were found to devote 63% of their time attending to boys, in terms of questions and addresses, thus marginalising or ignoring girls (Spender 1989). Girls have been found to be treated as a group while boys are given individual attention (Sadler in Lasser 1987, Arnot in Deem 1984, Mahony 1983, Spender 1989). Boys' work appears to teachers to be better than that of girls, and girls then lag behind boys in achievement, lose confidence and participate less in the classroom activities (Spender 1989, AAUW 1992). The presence of girls provides boys with competition and they try to achieve more. But, instead girls conform to being "silly or silent", to defer to boys, demean themselves for boys, dress for boys etc. Boys benefit more from the "civilising effect" of such schools (Spender 1989 p.127). Co-education is also offered on the pretext that it will give girls a chance to take up the subjects they would not be able to take, if they were in single sex schools - a wider choice of options. But it has already been shown that, girls can be channelled to domestic science options, while the boys are offered traditional 'boys' subjects, leading to no change.

A further argument in favour of co-education is that it provides real life environment, similar to that which boys and girls will experience in adult life (Grant 1903 cited by Brehony in Deem 1984, ILEA 1985). Lee and Lockheed (1990) add that it offers a more friendly atmosphere. And yet co-education was also opposed because it was argued that women needed a different type of education because their bodies could not stand the intellectual strain during their adolescent stage, especially if this was in competition with men (Clarke and Hall 1904 cited by Diehl 1986). Feminists agree that co-educational schooling reflects what happens in real life i.e. male dominance, but they also stress that this does not provide a good learning enviroment for girls (Spender 1989, Lee and Lockheed, AAUW, 1992). Males dominate these institutions as pupils, teachers and administrators, as in real life. Female teachers are marginalised, and kept at lower levels whether in administration or teaching, and they cannot serve as positive models to girls, therefore. Sexist humour, sexual harassment encountered by female pupils and teachers may reflect real life but is not a good environment for learning (Spender 1989, Arnot 1981, Mahony 1983). (So far there are no studies to compare the effect on boys in schools where females dominate).

The third reason in support of co-education has been economic. The number of institutions can be reduced and this is particularly recommended for poor countries (Smock 1981, Psacharopoulos and Loxley 1985). But Lee and Lockheed's (1990) studies of Nigeria and Thailand led to the conclusion that it was difficult to assess the impact of co-education because of the domination of men. An assessment of staffing, classroom interaction, issues of sexual harassment, differentiated curricular and extra curricular activities indicate that boys benefit more from co-education than girls (Arnot 1984, 1983, Spender 1989, Deem 1984). It is interesting to note that co-education has been found to have a postitive effect upon women's education. In Peru, Sara-Lafosse (in Stromquist 1992) does not observe any conflict between boys and girls. She shows that exposure to co-education increases student perception of equal abilities by both sexes, more than is the case in single-sex schools. Within co-educational institutions, changes in gender roles are encouraged and efforts are made to change the rigid traditional division of labour. The experience helps to eliminate the belief that housework is solely a woman's job. She emphasises that in Latin America, deliberate efforts are aggressively being applied to change attitudes to gender roles. Her study can only serve as an example of how co-education can be improved. For Sub-Saharan Africa, however, where women still carry most of the work load and where other practices keep their status lower than that of men, such positive results will require nothing short of a revolution.

Single sex schools

These schools are advocated on the grounds that they bring about equity. Girls are reported to show lower levels of fear of success and are more likely to exercise leadership roles. Lee and Lockheed's study (1990) of Nigeria showed that single-sex schools positively affect girls both in increasing mathematics and achievement and eliminating stereotype views of the subject. Malawian studies have also pointed to better performance in examinations by "girls' only" schools (Lewis et al 1990). Other studies support this finding (Smock 1981, Bowman and Anderson 1980, ILEA 1985, Kelly 1982). Lee and Lockheed (1990) also state that single-sex schools show less drop-out rates. This has partly been explained by the smaller size of institutions, providing intimate environment, positive role of female teachers as role models, less stereotypic views about female roles and lack of pressures that would result from competing with boys.

On the other hand single-sex schools can perpetuate a stereotyping bias through curriculum, eg by offering only those subjects deemed "suitable for girls

(Dupont 1981). The "hidden" curriculum is more easily encouraged in single-sex schools. Such schools can become very selective and tend to be expensive and therefore hinder girls' wider access Smock (1981). In Sub-Saharan Africa, there are examples to show that girls' schools tend to be poorly staffed and lack good quality educational materials and equipment (Eshiwani 1982, Martim 1985).

There is no agreement as to which is the better type of institution. Local environment determines the extent to which one type or the other is acceptable or affordable. What seems to be clear is the need to attempt to eliminate the various hindrances. Because of general misgivings about co-education, it is recommended that both parents and staff should be convinced that it is a good arrangement (Douglas 1955, British Report on Girls' Education in Africa 1943).

(vii) Careers Guidance and Counselling: This is an aspect which does not generally receive the deserved attention as a factor of access in girls' schooling.

Avent (1988) uses "guidance" as a term for the entire apparatus of information, encouragement and action to support pupils and their parents throughout the secondary years. (For Sub-Saharan Africa, this should cover even the primary school years for reasons given later in this section). She points out that careers guidance is only one aspect of "the total guidance programme and consists of cognitive learning skills acquisition and the gradual development of attitudes and understanding related to ideas about the "working world" (p.6). Counselling is a way of augmenting the school's pastoral system by enabling pupils to discuss their personal or academic problems with a sympathetic adult, usually a tutor; and Avent distinguishes between individual and group counselling. However defined, careers guidance and counselling are essential components of schooling for both boys and girls.

Dupont (1981) found educational guidance to be still in the embryonic or experimental stage, or else ineffective in all the countries of her study (Afghanistan, Jamaica, Madagascar, Jordan, Mongolia, Portugal and Turkey). Noting this educational gap in Sub-Saharan Africa, the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (1986) organised a workshop to consider this issue. Case studies from Botswana, Tanzania, Kenya, Lesotho, Ethiopia and Swaziland were presented. Findings were that formal and deliberate programmes in this field were a relatively new concept in these countries. There was lack of trained staff to carry out this service. Programmes lacked support services like training facilities and

materials. As expected little money was available to make the programmes meaningful at national level. The situation has not changed much in the 1990s. Studies on Malawi show that there is still lack of formal career guidance. Kainja and Mkandawire 1990 (cited by Lewis et al 1990) reported the need for information on the value of schooling as the most frequent recommendation advanced for improving female persistence in a sample of over 300 females from 8 districts. Nambote and Mkandawire (1989 also cited in Lewis et al) reported that 25% of respondents listed "lack of guidance" as a major cause for their own dropping out of school.

The need for this service can further be illustrated by Duncan (1985) who observes that in Botswana, schools have a great impact on pupils' careers and therefore an effective service is essential. Many village parents have limited exposure to the modern sector, and socialisation through the mass media is limited. Indeed Table 5.6, shows the high levels of illiteracy and limited access to mass media in East Africa. In such societies there is great need for adequate counselling and guidance in schools.

Table 5.6: LITERACY, COMMUNICATIONS AND MEDIA (EAST AFRICA)

5.6(a) Illiterate Population (Age 15 and over)

	Illiteracy Rate (%) 1990		
Country	**Total**	**Male**	**Female**
Burundi	50.0	39.1	60.2
Kenya	31.0	20.2	41.5
Rwanda	49.8	36.1	62.1
Uganda	51.7	37.8	65.1
Tanzania	—	—	—
Canada*	NA	NA	NA
United Kingdom*	NA	NA	NA

5.6(b) Communications and Media

Country	Daily Newspapers (No. of copies per 1,000 Inhabitants) 1980	1988	Consumption of printing & writing paper per 1,000 people 1980	1988	Radio sets per 1,000 people 1980	1988	TV sets per 1,000 people 1980	1988
Burundi	0.2	4	NA	78	37	56	—	0.2
Kenya	13	15	758	1251	32	91	4	6
Rwanda	0.1	0.1	NA	59	29	57	—	—
Uganda	2	4	37	23	30	99	5	6
Tanzania	11	7	371	402	NA	20	0.4	0.6
Canada*	232	225	41149	58246	741	960	443	586
UK*	419	396	29109	51112	941	1146	401	435

* For comparison with developed countries where literacy is not a problem

NA = Magnitude nil

Source: World Education Report, UNESCO (1991 Table 2)

5.4 THE NATURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

5.4.1 Higher Education Models

The form in which higher education is provided may limit or increase students' chances to enter it. Two broad types of higher education have been distinguished: the "elite" and "mass" types or models (Trow 1974).

The "elite" system of higher education is characterised by high entry standards and admission requirements, high cost per student, high completion rates, high status and prestige, high staff salaries and low student staff ratios. Burgess (1982) calls it the "autonomous" model. In the elite system, admission requirements are rigidly adhered to, thus reducing access. Lauglo's (1982) description of "the Centre of Academic Learning", though specifically restricted to universities, also refers to the 'elite' system. Lauglo suggests that societies can best be served by allowing universities to concentrate on that distinctive intellectual function, which they alone can perform and facilities should therefore be provided to enable those who are suited to achieve this academic excellence. Trow (1974, 1981, 1984, 1987, 1989) stresses that an elite system lacks diversity and the chances of expansion are limited because of the required high standards and high unit costs. This kind of higher education is often found in countries with low

economic level of development, with comparatively limited chances for basic education. Financial support is usually available for higher education students, but the hurdle is to go through the lower grades (International Encyclopedia of Higher Education 1977). Thus restrictions to those already constrained (like women) are made greater as they get filtered out at lower levels where education is not free.

On the other hand, a "mass" system of higher education is characterised by less rigidity in standards, has lower unit costs, and above all has more open access to members of society (Trow, cited above). Burgess (1982) refers to this system as the "service" model. It is responsive to demands of society, is vocational in that what is taught, has direct relationship to the individual's work and its curriculum is more open to new experiments and innovation. In terms of access it is open because it caters for varied groups of students. Lauglo's (1982) "Utilitarian University" where the curriculum, institutional planning, research etc. are in accordance with the needs of society, fits under this system. Lauglo commends this type of university for developing countries. In the "mass" system, entrance is seen as a right for all those who meet minimum requirements (Trow, as cited above). One pre-condition is availability of secondary schooling to all and a diversity of post secondary options is also a prerequisite. The elite system enrols fewer than 10% of the age cohort, mass access prevails where 20% of youths get post-secondary education while universal access can only occur in highly affluent countries (International Encyclopedia of Higher Education 1977). Such conditions are far removed from the Ugandan context, but they are cited to emphasize the great differences between "elite" and "mass" systems of higher education, which are important factors influencing access.

5.4.2 The Nature of Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa

Higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa was heavily influenced by the "elite" model. Most of the information given here applies most directly to university education, although relevant to other higher education institutions. In any case, the university sector has great influence on other institutions and reflect what one can expect in other institutions (See M.J Kelly 1991).

The first higher educational institutions in Sub-Saharan Africa were established by external colonial powers, France, Britain etc. They were established on lines similar to universities in those countries (Ashby 1964, Küper 1978, Wandira 1977, Yesufu 1973, Hinchliffe 1987b). As Ashby (1964) points out, this

assumes "that a university system appropriate for Europeans brought up in London and Manchester and Hull was also appropriate for Africans brought up in Lagos and Kumasi and Kampala" (p.19). Many of these institutions had to undergo a spell of tutelage under special relationships with universities in the colonial countries. Makerere College in Uganda; Ibadan in Nigeria; Gordon College in Sudan had this relationship with the University of London. Newer ones were established on similar lines. Perhaps it should be stressed that during the colonial period the universities in metropolitan countries were never meant for women. Women took long to join them in big numbers, and when they finally did, they were at first allowed to study but not to graduate or receive certificates (Sutherland 1987). The new institutions in Africa were not founded with women in mind either.

Efforts to define parameters of African higher education have gone on since 1962 (Unesco 1962) and are still going on (Unesco 1987). The problem has been how to keep to international standards of Universities, while serving African Communities with restricted funds (Wandira 1977, Hinchliffe 1987b). Criticism of contemporary African higher education often emphasises that the nature of higher education institutions not only limits access, but means that they serve the traditional and emerging elite group (Kuper 1978). In addition participants are isolated from the rest of their communities and universities still reflect imported ideals (Hinchliffe 1987b, Furley and Watson and 1978). Another negative factor created by higher education in this region is its influence on the rest of the education system (Hawes 1982, Hinchliffe 1987b, M.J. Kelly 1991, Gould 1974, and Blakemore and Cooksey 1982). Emphasis on examination success for entering the sector 'distorts and narrows' what is taught in secondary schools. These institutions started with an emphasis on academic skills and this downgrades non-academic skills which would be useful to the majority of secondary school leavers who are not likely to enter higher education. This is crucial in such countries where formal education is virtually the only vehicle for career advancement (Hinchliffe 1987b, Nkinyangi 1982, Datta 1984, Blakemore and Cooksey 1982).

Because of the manner in which these institutions were founded they have now become too expensive for their governments to run. Hinchliffe's (1987) account of Ghanaian and Nigerian universities, and Kwesiga's (1988) study of Makerere University in Uganda illustrate their financial difficulties. A few other examples will illustrate this fact.

— The higher education institutions are small. "Within a sample of fifty African universities at the end of the 1970's, twelve had enrolments under 1,000 students while only thirteen had enrolments over 5,000 (and several of these had students dispersed over more than one campus)." (World Bank, 1988, p. 76).

— Many of these universities were established as self-contained communities on vast tracts of land, outside urban centres, and this meant provision of housing to staff members and other amenities required; social services like schools, clubs etc. All these require a lot of maintenance funds and restrict expansion (Hinchliffe, 1987b and World Bank, 1988).

— They have large staff numbers in comparison to students - 13 students to one staff in Francophone Africa and 7 to 1 in Anglophone Africa (much higher than in the west). They also have large numbers of non-academic staff - guards, ground crew, maintenance staff, etc; all multiplying expenses. As an example, in 1988, there were 902 non academic staff in one Ghanaian university compared to 166 in a comparable British university (World Bank, 1988). Hoenack's study (1987) on internal efficiency at Makerere University recommends drastic reduction in non-academic staff members.

— Subsidies for students - World Bank study of 1988 stated that of the 24 African countries studied, none had a general policy of charging tuition fees without any subsidy, thus increasing public spending on this sector. Provision of full board on campus and allowances to all students have made higher education financially unmanageable. Details of such allowances, including transport, pocket money, stationery and book allowances, provision of personal equipment like calculators and medical examination tools are catalogued in various studies (Hinchliffe 1987b, Kwesiga 1988 etc.). (These allowances are progressively being withdrawn and have caused student strikes and temporary closures of universities across Africa - Kenya, several times over the past two years; Uganda 1990/91, Zambia 1991, Tanzania 1991, and Zimbabwe 1992).

National economic crises already referred to have made the situation worse. Coombe's (1991) consultation report on higher education in Africa presents an

overall sad, if not desperate picture. He describes the deprived condition of both staff and students, lack of scholastic materials and equipment, poor research conditions and the exodus of qualified staff. He concludes that "some universities have ridden the economic storm better than the majority, but the majority are still in considerable trouble and many are in profound distress" (p.6). The sector is unable to open doors wider.

In spite of all this deprivation, higher education in Sub-Saharan Africa is still regarded as a drain on the national economy, since it takes up a disproportionate amount of funds compared with other sectors of education. The proportion of tertiary graduates in African populations of age twenty-four and older was 0.4% in 1988, compared to other developing countries at 6% (World Bank 1988). As table 5.7 illustrates, unit costs at higher education levels are disproportionately high and the system becomes self limiting. Under such conditions, is there room to cater for late comers and the disadvantaged ?

Table 5.7: UNIT COSTS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION AT THE VARIOUS LEVELS AS A PERCENTAGE OF PER CAPITA GNP IN SELECTED COUNTRY GROUPS

Country Group	Primary	Secondary	Higher
Sub-Saharan Africa	15	62	800
Francophone	23	86	1,000
Anglophone	12	51	600
Asia			
South East Asia & Pacific	11	20	118
South Asia	8	18	119
Latin America	9	26	88
All developing countries	14	41	370
Industrial countries	22	24	49

Source: Appendix tables A-17 to A-19 and Mingnat and Pscaharopoulos (1985). (World Bank Policy Study on Sub-Saharan Africa, 1988, p.75).

A summary of access factors is provided in chart 5.1. An attempt has been made to highlight those aspects which affect girls more than boys. The list is not prioritised since the intensity of each factor would vary with time and local environment. Only a few barriers/determinants from each of the three factor groupings have been selected for the Ugandan case study. Details are provided in

the next chapter and fuller justification for this selection becomes clearer in discussions on research findings.

The literature reviewed in this chapter and Chapter 4 provides a basis for the conceptual framework and helps to identify the research questions for the case study, outlined in Chapter 6.

Chart 5.1: SUMMARY CHART OF GENERAL ACCESS FACTORS SHOWING GENDER DIFFERENTIATION

ACCESS FACTOR		GENDER DIFFERENTIATION
(A) FAMILY FACTORS		
(i) Parental Attitudes	—	Affect girls education more than boys because scarce resources may more frequently be allocated to boys than girls.
(ii) Mother's influence	—	Mother's education has a positive influence on both boys and girls' schooling. It is estimated that mothers influence on daughters' education is stronger although exact extent is not known. Mothers in developing countries show lower levels of literacy and educational attainment, and therefore daughters are deprived of this influence.
(iii) Socio-economic Status of family	—	Very important in raising girls' access. In higher education, research shows that girls from families with a higher socio-economic status form a larger number of female students. Since the majority of the families in developing countries are not within this grouping, girls' access to higher education remains limited. On the other hand male enrolment shows a more widespread coverage of the other socio-economic family levels in society, indicating that boys have a more open channel than girls.
(iv) Family Labour	—	Affects both boys and girls, particularly in rural areas, BUT the type of work girls do (indoor mostly), the fact that they start this work at an earlier age than boys, and that they are more likely to be called upon to miss school when assistance is required; means that they have less time for study and are more likely to be withdrawn from school or not be enrolled at all.

(B) SOCIETAL FACTORS

(i) Socio-cultural Factors — Affect girls more than boys, especially those rigidly adhered to by the different societies. Negative effect is reflected in (a) marriage practices, (b) bride-price systems (c) Teenage pregnancies, (d) initiation rituals etc.

(ii) Religion — Places more restrictions on girls more than boys (particularly Islam) e.g. when co-education is not allowed because the two sexes cannot mix together.

(iii) Residence — In general, this barrier affects both boys and girls. The difference appears in that:-

(a) Boys' formal education started before that of girls and the speed and encouragement provided for girls to catch-up is slow.

(b) Long distances between home and school are more restrictive to girls, as parents do not feel safe to let them travel far in search of schooling. Urban conditions present more accommodation problems for girls than boys.

(c) Lack of educational resources would affect boys and girls in the same way but it has been found that girls' schools tend to be of poorer quality.

(d) Language problems affect both boys and girls in the same way, and so do variations in prescribed curriculum.

(iv) Ethnic Sub-Culture and Social Stratification — This is likely to affect girls and boys in the same way. But when the inhibiting sub-culture becomes more receptive to formal schooling, boys are more likely to enrol first. When the sub-culture is positive, then girls get a chance to move up with the general mainstream.

(v)	The link between Education and Employment	—	This has a negative effect on girls compared to boys. Men are more likely to secure better jobs within the labour market, while women's 'dual' roles of work and reproduction reduce their chances of upward mobility. Therefore in the eyes of society, higher education which leads to better employment chances is not seen as being so essential for girls.
(vi)	National Educational Policies	—	Affect girls more negatively than boys if they are gender-blind, which is usually the case. The negative effect can be reflected in the forms of institutions provided, methods of financing education, etc.
(vii)	Economic Conditions of the Country	—	If the countries are poor, as they are in Sub-Saharan Africa, the state is unable to offer good quality free and compulsory basic education, thus perpetuating the existing gender disparities. Parents are more constrained, and if they have to make choices as to which of their children to educate, boys tend to get the first chance.
(C)	INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS		
(i)	School Facilities	—	Poor facilities negatively affect both boys and girls, but evidence is available to show that girls' schools are more often poorly funded. When facilities are poor, pupils performance is also poor, leading to repetitions and drop-out. Girls have been found to give up schooling in bigger numbers than boys when required to repeat grades.
(ii)	Curriculum and Subject Options	—	More of a disadvantage to girls than to boys because the former are denied certain subjects either by omission or submission. Technical education and other science-based courses are an illustration.

(iii)	The " Hidden" Curriculum	—	Would affect girls and boys in the same way under normal circumstances. However, in the girls' case, the "hidden" curriculum is seen as directing girls away from high academic aspirations.
(iv)	Influence of School Textbooks and Children's Literature	—	This affects girls more negatively than boys. They do not contain enough positive female role models. When females are included, they are depicted through the "female" roles or in such a way that girls (and boys) will not identify women with high educational professional attainment.
(v)	Influence of Teachers	—	Teachers, male and female, are known to give more attention and encouragement to boys than girls and to believe that girls' achievement is lower than that of boys. Secondly, there are fewer female teachers, especially at Secondary Schools and Higher education levels, to act as role models and to motivate girls.
(vi)	Type of Educational Institution	—	(1) Day schools present more transport and accommodation problems to girls more than boys. (2) Boarding schools are preferred for girls but because they are expensive to run, they restrict access further. Boys restricted by this factor can more easily go to day schools than girls. (3) Conditions in co-educational institutions are more favourable to boys than girls. (4) Girls' achievement is higher in single-sex schools although the limitation is from either the schools being boarding and therefore expensive, or being poorly funded. The form of institution accessible to girls is therefore important.

(vii) Careers Guidance and Counselling Systems — Both boys and girls benefit from a good service. However, since girls' rates of achievement and attainment are recorded to be lower than that of boys, this service tends to be more urgent for girls than boys. Creation of awareness, motivation and re-direction into "male" courses and subjects can be partly achieved through this service.

THE NATURE OF HIGHER EDUCATION

— The restrictive nature of the education system, and particularly higher education affects both boys and girls. By the time all students reach higher education, their numbers have decreased. However, rates of drop-out are higher for girls than for boys, and therefore the total number of eligible female students to enter higher education is smaller than that of male students. The restrictions at this level mean that the "surviving" small number of women is reduced even further. Higher education has traditionally been a male domain. Women have yet to catch-up. The few role models who "storm the tower" are regarded as outsiders, and experience barriers to further advancement. The general picture is that higher education is well beyond the reach of most women.

CHAPTER 6:
TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, KEY PROPOSITIONS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This chapter synthesises the literature reviewed in Chapter 4 and 5 and sets out to provide a conceptual framework for the study. It presents the wider research questions, and lays out key propositions, in a detailed chart showing the type of data sought to provide the evidence used to investigate these propostions.

6.1 TOWARDS A CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for this study is derived from several theories and concepts; human capital theory and its concept of investment in education and social theories of gender inequalities and their evident influence on members of society. This framework is supported by the Women in Development (WID) approach, through an analysis of the status of women, in relation to their contribution to the development process. These theories and concepts are synthesised in an attempt to explain how and why women's education is not accorded the same value as that of men.

Human Capital Theory illustrates that investment in education is undertaken on the basis of expected future benefits. The skills and knowledge acquired through education and training are regarded as a form of capital comparable to physical capital. Assessment of costs and benefits permits the investor to gauge the extent of future gains and who will be the beneficiary of such gains. Is it the student, the parent (or whoever is meeting the costs), those who provide education, or others in society? This is important because it eventually reveals whether the actual investor is gaining or losing. If the investor, who in the education of children is the parent or guardian, is losing then education will be seen as a consumption — funds spent without much future profit for the person meeting the bill. This will therefore have a bearing on the decision taken, with regard to the level of investment.

It is an assumption of this study, that parents and society as a whole take decisions on the basis of perceived rates of return. This does not mean that they are believed to actually calculate rates of return. It is enough that they behave as if they were applying cost benefit analysis. They work out, in their own minds, who

will produce higher benefits (boy or girl) and therefore, when faced with scarce resources, they will decide how to spend the money accordingly. For example, it can be argued that since women are expected to get married and live with and contribute to new families, unless money is plentiful, it should not be invested for the benefit of those other families. Even at the extended family level, a married woman is regarded as a loss since members of her clan cannot freely enjoy her earnings, as they would, had she been a man (Cameron 1970, Akello 1990). To a great extent payment of bride wealth is an explanation of this economic factor. Parents have spent time and money on the upbringing (and education) of a girl, and they need to be compensated for the loss of material benefits they would have gained from her services. The point is that many of the explanations given as "customary" or "cultural" are easily explained by the human capital theory approach because "cost-benefit analysis" is at play. For a country like Uganda, rates of return cannot easily be measured in the conventional manner of assessing increased earnings and productivity of educated workers. Available records would not adequately measure real earnings of individuals as a basis of calculating the private and social rates of return. More importantly, however, it is not just the actual earnings which are being measured. This extends to who will actually gain from these earnings and because of the prevailing social structure it becomes necessary to evaluate total usefulness of the whole person to the family, beyond cash earnings. The female child will be found to be of less value.

The second strand of the conceptual framework is provided by the social theories of gender inequalities which try to explain the consistent economic, political and social disparities between men and women. They try to explain how and why male dominance exists within societies — the justification for continued existence of patriarchy. Their influence is reflected at family and society levels where the male child is more valued, particularly in patrilineal societies where he has to be given every support and encouragement to ensure continuation of the lineage. The theories help us to understand why family and social structures favour the male — in marriage arrangements, divorce systems, bridewealth payments etc. They help us to see why women enjoy fewer legal rights than men, whether under customary or statutory law. As empirical data in Chapters 3, 8, 9 and 10 show, they provide the key to the lower social status that women enjoy, and all this has implications for educational investment. These theories advance non-economic factors which hinder equal educational opportunities at family level in terms of duties, at institutional level in terms of attention and encouragement provided, out of school experiences, particularly in the labour force, etc , etc. They help to clarify the various obstacles to greater participation of girls/women in

education, normally classified together as cultural, traditional, or social. The theories help us to demarcate which factors are purely biological, natural or due to socialisation. They help to show that some access factors affect boys and girls differentially. This is vital when we come to think of remedies.

As an illustration, division of labour at family level leaves the female with a heavier and more time-consuming workload, leading to unequal chances of attending school and/or concentrating on school work. The female role prescribed by biology but promoted by society emphasises child bearing and rearing more than paid employment. Consequently, less attention is paid to women's education as future workers, either through neglect of general education or career advancement, and in-service training. This is again reflected in educational institutions where courses are provided according to future gender roles, affecting the type of curriculum offered, options available to students and professions through which boys and girls are channelled. Parents, students and teachers get to accept these developments as the norm, and little changes.

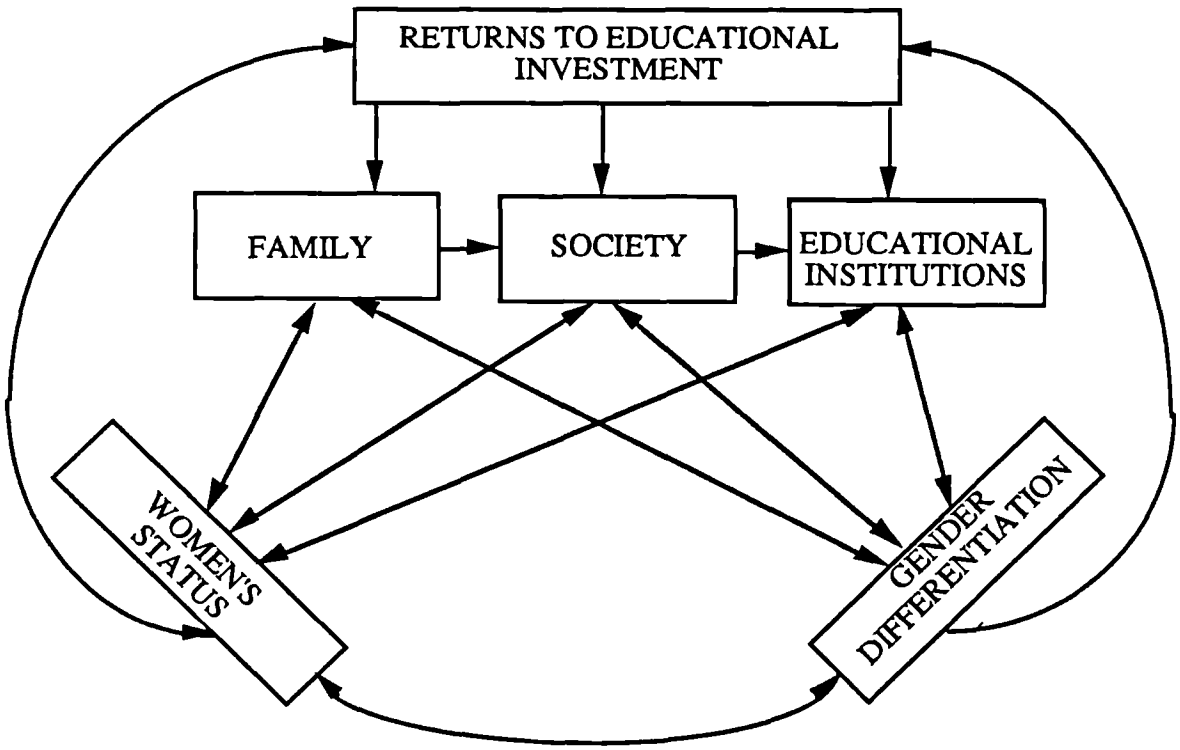
The Women in Development (WID) perspective illustrates how and why women's status is lower than that of men. It shows that asymmetrical rights and obligations are unbalanced in favour of men. Low status sustains and enhances the asymmetry of rights and obligations and discrimination (Collier 1987). This low status therefore enhances the disadvantages women encounter at family, societal and institutional levels — issues already outlined under social theories of gender inequalities above. Any matters necessitating gender differentiation is likely to be influenced negatively by this low status e.g. inheritance laws, whether customary or statutory. In other cases the low status will lead to lack of concern or gender insensitivity. For example, national policy can be run as if there is no gender inequality, thus perpetuating male dominance in the teaching or management cadres. Attitudes towards girls, by teachers and fellow students sometimes derive from women's lower status. As illustrated earlier too, in taking decisions about investment in the education of children, the overall lower status that girls/women enjoy influences decisions in favour of boys, should there be a need to make a distinct decision.

In summary, the human capital concept of investment in education provides a unifying structure for this conceptual framework. It provides the explanation for regarding education as an investment, consumption or both, thus allowing for an assessment of the investment level of girls/women's education. It illustrates that families and societies act as if they are constantly weighing whose education

brings in more "profit"; the boy's or girl's? Whether those decisions are made at family, societal or indeed institutional level, gender differentiation is important since it will help to determine the value of expected benefits. In each case, overall status of the girl or boy is also influential (and it has been shown that that of the former is lower). The answer to the equation is that boys' education is judged to be more profitable and therefore will receive more support. The "indirect" or "spill-over" benefits of educating women are not normally included in the "calculation", thereby lowering women's value again. For higher education the "profit margin" becomes even wider in favour of the boy. The girl may become pregnant before completing school, and subsequently "fetch" less bridewealth after consuming funds. If she attains higher education, she is less likely to gain top level employment comparable to her brother. In any case even if she did, these higher benefits will be enjoyed by her husband's family for which bridewealth alone cannot compensate. It has to be stressed that the human capital concept of investment in education is not considered as the sole explanation to low rates of female participation in education. It illuminates other determinants and barriers to achieving better access. As illustrated by empirical data, the situation is aggravated by an inadequate educational structure.

The framework is summarised in chart 6.1

Chart 6.1: WOMEN'S EDUCATIONAL ACCESS: DETERMINANTS AND INFLUENCES



6.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As explained in Chapter 5, Hyde's (1991) classifcation of barriers to women's access to education has been used for this study. This classification helps to link the various concepts used in the analysis of access factors, as Chart 6.1 illustrates. The conceptual framework emphasises the application of the human capital concept of investment in education both as an influence upon and a link between the various determining factors, which are at the same time subject to the influence of gender differentiation. In all cases, women's status has a bearing on the intensity of each determinant or influence. The Chart also indicates that familial, societal and institutional factors are interrelated. On the basis of the literature reviewed and the conceptual framework adopted, the study was designed to explore the following wider questions:

(i) Does Hyde's three-fold classification clarify and capture the main factors influencing and determining educational access for women in Uganda?
(ii) Does the human capital view of "investment in education" help to explain decisions about girls' education in Uganda?

6.3 KEY PROPOSITIONS AND SURVEY EVIDENCE

In Chapter 5, various factors which have previously been advanced as limiting women's access to education were discussed and a summary provided. It was not possible to assess the application of all such factors to Uganda within the scope of this study. Some factors are important but would require a more detailed, localised study, and in particular those grouped as family factors fall under this category. Others may be important but not regarded as being so urgent, in the Uganda circumstances. For example, the questions of whether the curriculum content, or textbooks used are adequate are important but the urgent issue is to let the girls enrol in school first. This also applies to the question of differential attention given by teachers through classroom interaction. Even within the group which is investigated in this study, some aspects cannot be covered, on logistical grounds. Although a study of educated women's earnings in relation to that of men with equal education would be revealing, for instance, it is not possible at present to compile such information for Uganda. Appropriate data for this is not available.

The study therefore concentrated on certain key factors, and the importance and influence of these factors is assessed by means of analysis of empirical data,

collected in Uganda from both primary and secondary sources, including questionnaires, interviews, official documents, reports and statistical records, previous research reports, books and evidence from mass media. The key factors explored in this way are the following:

(A) Family Factors
- (i) Parental attitudes
- (ii) Socio-economic status of family
- (iii) Gender-differentiated roles/division of labour

(B) Societal Factors
- (iv) Family structures and marriage systems
- (v) Uneven and unequal regional development
- (vi) National education policy

(C) Institutional Factors
- (vii) Subject combinations/option arrangements
- (viii) Types of secondary school
- (ix) The restrictive nature of the education system, especially higher education
- (x) Lack of female role models in education
- (xi) Lack of careers guidance and counselling

The influence of these key factors was explored by means of a series of more detailed and explicit research propositions that are set out in Chart 6.2 together with the data required to investigate each proposition and the sources of evidence used in the analysis. Chapter 7 provides more detail about how the data was collected and analysed and the results of the research are presented in chapters 8-10.

Chart 6.2: RESEARCH PROPOSITIONS AND SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

Research Proposition	Type of Data Required	Sources of Evidence
(A) FAMILY FACTORS		— Questionnaire returns from 130 parents and 155 Opinion leaders (who are parents or potential parents) — Views gathered from structured interviews with 8 Heads/Deputy Heads of Secondary Schools in the study sample; 3 Heads of Primary Schools in the sample, 1 Head of urban/day girls' school not in the sample. — Documentary evidence from previous reseaches; official documents archival studies, and public views from the mass media.
1. Parental attitudes towards their children limit girls' opportunities to advance through to higher education. This is manifested through various indicators of male-child preference leading to less direct and indirect parental support and encouragement for girls' educational achievement and attainment.	Wide-ranging evidence to show the negative and/or low esteem towards girls and women, and the value attached to their education.	
2. The socio-economic status of the family has a stronger influence on girls' access to higher education than it is for boys'. Unless the family is able to educate both boys and girls; the latter are less likely to reach the apex of the educational ladder.	Family income, socio-economic status of family viewed in relation to cost of education.	— Questionnaire - 130 parents' sources of income — Questionnaire - 358 students - returns on parental educational and occupational background. — Sample study of parental occupations for 488 university students (1991) — Documentary evidence from official surveys on national economy and family income and cost of schooling. — Documentary evidence from previous studies on cost of schooling. — Returns from school samples. — Public comments from the mass media.
3. The gender-differentiated division of labour places more burden on female members of the family. Female roles reduce the perceived value attached to girls' higher educational attainment, in comparison with their male counterparts. During the enrolment period, female roles are more likely to hinder their full participation in	Different roles performed by either sex, and the effect they may have on schooling and educational expectations for the future.	— Questionnaire - on types of chores given to boys and girls from 133 parents and 155 opinion leaders. — Questionnaire to 358 students on chores suited to men or women. — Documentary evidence from previous studies.

Research Proposition	Type of Data Required	Sources of Evidence
(B) SOCIETAL FACTORS		
4. Kinship, lineage and inheritance within the Ugandan social structure devalue women. The entrenched belief in universal marriage, the widespread custom of high bridewealth payments, and the resultant strict steps that must be taken to avoid pregnancies outside marriage, place a lower premium on girls' attainment of higher education in relation to boys.	— Information on family structures, kinship and lineage and inheritance systems.	— Documentary evidence from published official material, previous individual research studies. — Public views from the mass media on current events.
	— Marriage stystem and data to gauge its importance to society, including age at first marriage.	— Documentary evidence from official demographic surveys; censuses and related reports. — Previous studies and current public views from mass media. — Questionnaire returns form 358 students, 130 parents and 155 opinion leaders.
	— Systems of bridewealth practices, importance attached to it by the various communities, its operations, and information on whether girls could be withdrawn from school for marriage purposes in order to secure bridewealth.	— Questionnaire returns from 358 students, 130 parents and 155 opinion leaders. — Previous research studies — Official position on the bridewealth systems from published material. — Evidence from the mass media.
	— Teenage pregnancies, statistical evidence for its occurrence. Official policy on the topic. Views from parents and their handling of the situation.	— Interview returns from 8 Heads & Deputy Heads of Secondary School, 3 Heads of primary schools, and 1 head of urban/girls' school (not in sample). — Questionnaire responses on pregnancies as a cause of school girl drop-out from 358 students, 130 parents and 155 opininon leaders. — Returns from 14 secondary schools and 4 primary schools, and 8 higher education institutions — Evidence from mass media

Research Proposition	Type of Data Required	Sources of Evidence
5. Unequal and uneven development, resulting from differential distribution of natural resources, historial, political and economic factors, has led to inequitable distribution of educational institutions in terms of quality and total numbers. This has a depleting effect on the female higher education pool, already more limited than the male one because of other factors.	— Economic/geographical distribution of resources — Historical explanations of unequal and uneven development and lack of uniform educational attention — Distribution of institutions by numbers, types, levels at district and regional levels, all gender segregated — Varying standards in institutions.	— Document analysis of national official publications, (development plans, surveys, budget speeches, etc). — Studies on Uganda by international agencies, individual researchers and evidence from the mass media. — Documentary evidence from official reports and archives — Previous individual studies — Ministry of Education records, reports and official statements, archival records — Official reports and individual studies on the historical development of eduation in Uganda. — Ministry of Education records, reports and statements concerning establishment of and quality control in institutions. — UNEB records on institutional performance. — Returns from sample institutions. — Mass media evidence.

Research Proposition	Type of Data Required	Sources of Evidence
6. National educational policy has not addressed equity issues, and one major result of this is the persistent gender inequalities, unfavourable to girls.	— Educational administration policy, including level of control — Educational Finance Policy - how sensitive is it to bringing about equity at all levels and among groups of participants ? — Specific official policy towards women's education	— Government reports and other documents. Structure of stystem and ownership — Archival records — National Commission for UNESCO Reports — Returns from records of sample secondary schools & higher education institutions — Previous individual studies — Evidence of constraints from mass media — Budget speech analyses — Ministry of education records, reports and statements — Government Reports and Commissioned Studies and Policy Statements — Government Archives — Assessment of actual institutions catering for women — Evidence from interviews with 8 Head/Deputy heads of schools in study sample and 6 top level Ministry of Education Officials.
(C) INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS		
7. Subject combinations/option arrangements at secondary school level limit girls' choices, more of than those of boys thereby reducing their chances to enter the variety of higher education institutions.	— General trends in girls' subjects choices and diversity of options, if any. Inclination of institutions with regard to "boys" or "girls" subjects.	— Official Syllabus for O-level and A-level and regulations by UNEB — Performances of girls in comparison with boys in various subjects at O-level from UNEB records; which also illustrates types of subjects taken by girls — Returns on options offered in the 16 sample schools — Questionnaire returns from 358 students about their experiences — Structured interviews with 6 headteachers of secondary schools — Previous individual studies

Research Proposition	Type of Data Required	Sources of Evidence
8. Types of of secondary schools provided are not conducive to high aspirations and achievement to enable girls to enter higher education in big numbers since physical facilities and other forms of student support, including management, cater more for boys than girls.	— Breakdown of co-educational and single-sex schools; day and boarding schools	— Compilation of numbers and distribution of institutions. — Analysis of UNEB Examinations results by type of school.
	— Effectiveness of co-education vs single-sex schools; in terms of facilities for and attention to girls; and day vs boarding schools, particularly in terms of cost. How effectively do they serve both sexes?	— Interviews with 8 Heads/deputy heads of secondary schools in sample — Interviews with 4 Senior Officials of the Ministry of Education — Returns from records of 14 sample secondary schools — Questionnaires from 130 parents and 155 opinion leaders — Documentary evidence from official reports and policy statements — Archival studies — Documentary evidence from previous studies
	— Performance by girls within the varying school institutions	— Analysis of performance in examinations for the different types of schools for boys and girls from UNEB records; (O-level and A-levels)

Research Proposition	Type of Data Required	Sources of Evidence
9. The educational structure becomes more restrictive at each successive stage. By higher education entry level, restrictions have further multiplied. This poses further limitations to girls who face stronger and more numerous barriers than boys	— Diversity of institutions, courses offered	— Official records and reports
	— Admission requirements policy and procedures How flexible is the policy?	— Returns from 11 higher eduation institutions — Official policy statements — Evidence from mass media.
	— Enrolment and graduation figures to indicate size and sex breakdown, with paticular attention to facilities/provisions for women	— Returns from 11 higher education institutions - for a 10 year period — Returns from Ministry of Education — Returns from Public Service Commission
	— Method of financing institutions - does it lead to restricted or open entry?	— Returns from 11 higher education insitutions — Official records and statements — Structured interviews with 5 Ministry of Education Officials and 9 administrators, and academic heads of institutional faculties — Evidence from the mass media — Previous individual studies.
10. The education system in Uganda lacks enough female role-models to motivate girls/women to aspire to entering higher education in big numbers, which is not the case for boys/men	— Who runs the educational system, at the level of teachers, school administration, handling special responsibilities within institutions; and actual governance. In the national system who is at the decision-making level - all gender desegregated	— Returns from the 16 sample schools and 11 higher education institutions — Ministry of Education headquarters staffing Headship of institutions — Ratio of female teachers to that of men, at national level (central records) and within institutions (fieldwork returns) — Gender-sensitive analysis of membership of governing bodies, important committees and boards of all sample institutions

Research Proposition	Type of Data Required	Sources of Evidence
11. The existing official system for careers guidance and counselling at secondary school level is inadequate, rendering girls more ill-prepared than boys, who already have better chances of entering higher education.	— Evidence of service reaching schools. Existence of the service within schools and its effectiveness. Who provides the service?	— Operations of the Careers Guidance and Counselling Unit of the Ministry of Education - through documentary study and interviews with two members of staff. — Returns from 16 sample schools — Questionnaire returns from 358 students — Public information on the system in the form of published material and information produced by non-governmental organisations

CHAPTER 7:
METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION AND DATA ANALYSIS

On the basis of the general objectives set out in Chapter 1, and the research propositions and questions in Chapter 6 data collection combined two methods: **surveys** and **documentary analysis**. This chapter shows how data were collected, presented and analysed, the contents fall under the following headings:

1 Survey Method — elaborating the following techniques and procedures.
   (a) Sampling Frame and Sampling Procedure
   (b) Questionnaire Administration
   (c) Interviews

2. Documentary Analysis
3. Data Presentation and Analysis
4. Duration of the Field Research
5. Limitations Encountered

7.1 SURVEY METHOD

Being a national study, the survey method was adopted. There are a total of 88 higher education institutions, over 500 secondary schools and over 8000 primary schools in Uganda. The survey method enables a representative sample to be studied. It is accepted that some of the factors affecting women's educational access in Uganda may be localised at district or even community levels. However, since an overall study, linking these access factors at national level is not available, a survey is relevant at this point in time to provide the necessary background to more detailed and localised case studies.

(a) Sampling Frame and Sampling Procedure

Four Primary Schools, sixteen Secondary Schools and eleven higher education institutions were chosen. Each group is presented separately and the procedure and justification for the sample provided.

(I) **Higher Education Institutions:**

These were grouped into University, Teacher Education, Technical Education, Commercial Education, Specialised Government Departmental Institutions and Private Institutions (Map 3 p.22 shows location). The following institutions were selected as a purposive sample:

Makerere University: This was the only degree awarding institution in Uganda until 1987 and 1989 when the Islamic University in Uganda, and the Mbarara University for Science and Technology were established respectively. Their impact is yet to be felt, the former has only just graduated its first intake, while the latter will not do so until 1994. Their intake is still very small, about 50 students each, per year.

Institute of Teacher Education at Kyambogo (ITEK): This has been the only centre for training secondary school and Teacher Training College Teachers (apart from Makerere University until 1984 when some Teachers' Colleges were upgraded. It still offers several specialised courses in education and sets the direction for teacher education in Uganda. It now offers, among other courses, a B.Ed. degree (the award of Makerere University).

The Uganda Polytechnic, Kyambogo (UPK): This is the only institution which offers courses leading to Higher Diplomas in several branches of technical education, and is fed by lower institutions (Technical Colleges and Institutes).

The National College of Business Studies, Nakawa (NCBS): This has for a long time been the only government institution offering commercial courses of diploma level and other externally set commercial professional courses. It is only recently that other national Colleges were established around the country. It still offers several courses not available elsewhere in the country, notably Higher Diplomas.

Specialised Government Institutions: These institutions fall under the various government ministries as indicated in Chapter 1. Two institutions were selected.

Institute of Public Administration (IPA): This runs many short courses for civil servants (and private agencies who are charged). It was chosen because it offers three Diploma Courses at postgraduate level, which have an important bearing on the careers of civil servants in particular. The IPA was also thought to be a useful indicator to women's continued access to training after completion of basic higher education courses.

Bukalasa Agricultural College: This college was selected as an old established institution which provides training for personnel central to the country's

economy (Uganda being virtually an agricultural country). It was expected to provide insight into the planning of women's education in connection with women's work since Ugandan women play a vital role in Agriculture, as Chapter 3 has shown.

Private Institutions: These were represented by **Nkumba College of Commerce** and **Advanced Studies.** There are a good number of private colleges offering courses to A-level school certificate holders, but it is difficult to grade them as Higher Education Institutions because they admit students of lower qualifications as well. Many of them lack adequate facilities and the majority are too new to provide adequate data for analysis. The majority of these institutions offer commercial/business courses, although there, are several technical institutes too. Nkumba College is one of the few well-known successful private colleges, established by indigenous Ugandans (many others in the past belonged to Asians and Religious Missions) and it offers many of the courses offered by the National Colleges, and some externally set courses. It was found to provide interesting comparisons with government institutions.

Selection of Sample Institutions from the Rest of the Higher Education Group

After the purposive selection of institutions listed above, the remaining government-owned institutions consisted of four Technical Colleges, five Colleges of Commerce, and ten National Teacher Training Colleges, giving a total of nineteen institutions. A stratified probability sample of four institutions was selected to reflect national representation, proportional to size of strata. This was done by first grouping the institutions by type. These were numbered in ascending order. Using random numbers, selection was made of one Commercial College, one Technical College, and two National Teachers' Colleges (NTCs). For the first two types (Commercial and Technical), single-digit random numbers were used and for the NTCs two-digit random numbers were used. The selected institutions were: Uganda Technical College, Elgon; Uganda College of Commerce, Pakwach; National Teachers' College, Nkozi; National Teachers' College, Kakoba. Nothing was altered, since the institutions provided a regional representation.

(ii) Secondary Schools

A list of Advanced Level government-aided schools in Uganda for the year 1991 was used. As Map 3 shows, there are many private secondary schools but it was decided not to include them in this sample, partly because official records do not provide a consistent figure, to permit adequate sampling. Secondly private schools have historically not been of high standard. They send fewer girls to higher education and it was therefore decided to concentrate on government-aided schools. This is not to deny their important complementary role to government - aided schools in providing secondary level education. Indeed, as table 2.3 shows, 16% of institutions at basic education level are privately owned, although it is estimated that these only cater for about 3.5% of all pupils. This is therefore an omission that had to be reluctantly made, both on the basis of the lack of a suitable sampling frame, and general logistical constraints. (The higher education sample includes a private institution). Government-aided A-level secondary schools comprised of 109 mixed schools; 32 purely boys' schools; and 27 purely girls' schools in 1991. The purely boys schools were eliminated because they would not provide comparative data between boys and girls. The target population was therefore the 136 schools that admitted girls (109 mixed and 27 girls). A stratified random sample of 15 schools was chosen from the 136 schools, with probability proportional to size of strata. Stratum 1 consisted of 27 girls' schools, from which a sample of 3 girls' schools was chosen. Stratum 2 consisted of 109 mixed schools and gave a sample of 12 mixed schools. The total sample was 15 schools, but because of the variables indicated below, a sixteenth school had to be purposively selected later. To get 3 schools, 27 girls' schools were listed as they appeared on the official list (by district). They were then given numbers. The same was done for the 109 mixed schools. Using random number tables, 3 girls' schools were selected from the 27 by using two digit numbers. 12 schools were selected from the 109 mixed schools by using 3 digit random numbers.

After selecting schools, the following criteria were applied to the whole sample to ensure that the schools would be representative:

- location within Uganda (a regional representation had to be ensured)
- single-sex and mixed schools - these had to be proportionately balanced
- day or boarding school - important, particularly for girls
- urban or rural school - this is especially important in terms of quality and accessibility

- relative age of school - the older, more established schools have maintained higher standards. Newer schools tend to lack facilities and performance is less good. These schools tend to be unpopular, and to take on pupils with lower passes.
- founding agency of the school - important in that before Independence (1962) most schools were religious-based and although these have officially been made secular since then, the influence remains - hence the need to get a balanced representation.

At the end of the exercise, four girls' schools were chosen mainly because one girls' school selected in northern Uganda was in an insecure area (due to armed rebel activities against the government) and there was a possibility that information might not be forthcoming. This would have left only two girls' schools which would not achieve adequate representation. Again one girls' school which was selected in the central region was replaced by another because the randomly selected school was in the same category as two others from other regions (fairly old, and high quality). The oldest girls' boarding school was purposively chosen instead, as it would bring out more information, and since the two schools were in the same region. A mixed school in Western Uganda was replaced by another mixed school in the same region because the former was located too near another school in the sample. The re-selected school represented an area where hardly any woman enters University. This was also the same basis for selecting the 16th school (mixed) in Eastern Uganda in order to include one of the least represented districts in educational institutions. All the four regions were fairly well represented; Central Region (5 with largest number of institutions nationally), Western (4), Eastern (3) and Northern (4). It has to be pointed out that due to insecurity in the Northern region, some data on school characteristics such as enrolment statistics, gender balance in school governance, as recorded in Table 10.4, could not be obtained from two schools, despite several attempts to do so. Fortunately, questionnaires were retrieved in time, and therefore the final analysis includes views from that area.

(iii) Primary Schools:

The main criteria used here were standard of record keeping, regional representation, and urban/rural location. The schools selected were:

- Budo Junior School — one of the oldest boarding schools. Chosen because of level of record keeping and variety of pupils. Situated 7 miles out of Kampala (capital).
- Kitante Primary School — the first top grade African school in Kampala City.
- Kikungiri Primary School in Kabale District — rural, although situated in the suburbs of a district headquarters.
- Kiyeyi Primary School in Tororo District — purely rural school.

The schools were chosen with the help of the Officer responsible for the administration of Ugandan Primary Schools, at the Headquarters of the Ministry of Education.

(b) Questionnaire Administration

Questionnaires were used to collect information on socio-economic status of families, subject arrangements and effectiveness of careers guidance and counselling service. They were used to test and/or collect views on issues of attitudinal nature — attitudes to women and women's education; domestic chores, professional gender differentiated occupations; institution of marriage; bridewealth practices and teenage pregnancies. General opinions about the educational system were sought — financing policy, types of institutions, their usefulness and shortcomings, and the running of higher education. People's views on how access barriers could be overcome were solicited. Originally, the intention was to take only one urban and one rural school, and to trace one cohort of pupils from the year they began schooling, up to university level, noting who dropped out of school, at whatever level they did so, reasons why, their various destinations, up to those who would have survived to the apex. This proved an impossible task as relevant records were simply not available. Instead, four schools were chosen, in the hope that evidence would be available to meet the original aim at primary school level only. Wide-spread poor record keeping led to purposive sampling, as otherwise few results would be realised. Budo Junior School and Kitante Primary School were therefore selected mainly because they contained records lacking elsewhere.

Because of the wide-ranging data sought it was originally intended to use six questionnaires, but because of time constraints, and as a result of experience of the pilot stage (discussed in Section 5 below), this number was reduced to three. The three questionnaires were administered to:

(i) Students in A-level secondary schools, and higher education institutions;

(ii) A group termed "Opinion Leaders" — people who are influential within the Ugandan community and are in a position to gauge public opinion. They represented:
   — Senior teachers from schools represented in the sample, who hold responsible positions.
   — Teachers with special responsibilities in higher education institutions.
   — Women's Representatives in the National Resistance Council (NRC).
   — Members of District Councils.

(iii) Parents; irrespective of whether their children were currently attending school or not.

The parents' questionnaire was completed by the researcher/research assistants asking the respondent a question and filling in the answer. Some few parents were able to fill in the information without assistance. All the other questionnaires were self - administered, although a small number of "Opinion Leaders" required some assistance because of the English language.

Selection of Questionnaire Respondents

Students from Secondary Schools

A sample of 160 students was selected, 10 from each Secondary School, thus representing 1.4% of the total A-level student population in Uganda at the time. (It should be pointed out that the number of enrolled students is the official figure given as adequate for each school, in accordance with the level of staffing and other facilities, but that the actual number admitted is higher in many cases, as fieldwork findings show). Selection of individual students was done at the schools, in consultation with headteachers or other senior teachers. Students were stratified by class (i.e. Senior 5 and Senior 6). In some cases only Senior 5 students were selected depending on the timing, because this questionnaire was administered between February and April 1991, the period when the Senior 6 Class sit their A-level examination. A random sample of 5 students was selected from Senior 5 and another 5 students from senior 6. Care was taken to balance science and arts students. In mixed schools, attention was paid to getting equal numbers of boys and girls.

Students from Higher Education Institutions

Selection of individual students varied from one institution to the other. Courses, or residential and gender groupings had to be taken into account. Types of nominal rolls available at the various institutions also influenced the selection procedure. From each of the 11 institutions 20 students were required, giving a total of 220 respondents. According to the Ministry of Education records (1991), there were about 15,565 students in this category and the selected sample gave 1.4% of the total student population. At Makerere University, two men's halls of residence were randomly selected while the only 2 women's halls were both considered. Using 3 digit random numbers (because of total numbers in each Hall), it was possible to pick the required 5 numbers each. A similar method was used at ITEK, Kakoba, and Nkozi. For the rest of higher education institutions, lists of registered students by course and year of study was used to select the student respondents - all using the random selection method. This particular group was considered to be able to assess school experiences, with hindsight. They were also thought to be able to provide views and opinions about cultural-traditional influences distinct from their teachers and parents, as a different generation.

"Opinion Leaders"' Questionnaire

Four groups of "Opinion Leaders" were identified, either on the basis of their knowledge of educational institutions, their chance to interact with members of society at large leading to general awareness of prevailing views and attitudes, or their influence as leaders and decision-makers. Their experiences were expected to be revealing to the study. They included:

Teachers in A-level Schools: Their views and opinions are important since they are directly operating within the system. They are in a position to assess some of the barriers to girls' educational attainment. Four were selected from each school leading to a total of 64 respondents. The choice depended on the duties involved and consultations were made with the institution's management.

Teachers and Academic Administrators from Higher Education Institutions: Criteria and procedure for selection of this group was similar to those in secondary schools. Four respondents from each institution led to a total of 44.

District Women Representatives: were thought to be a good source of information on what is planned for the future, and to reflect the concern of women

who are in a position to influence policy and decision-making. By virtue of their work within districts, these representatives meet a variety of officials, other "Opinion Leaders", parents and the general citizenry. There were then a total of 34 Women's Representatives. Five of these representatives held busy schedules then, as Ministers or Deputy Ministers, and could not be included in the sample. The final sample therefore consisted of the remaining 29 Women's Representatives.

District Councillors: Like Women's Representatives these are elected by the people. The Councillors are an important group, as they legislate for the development of their respective districts. They influence all aspects of life, including the education policy, e.g. levying education tax. They represent a cross-section of the population — teachers, clergy, business people, retired civil servants, chiefs, etc. who are well informed about the cultural practices of their communities. Seven Districts were purposively selected, ten respondents from each, making a total of seventy respondents. One of the criteria was the fact that in some districts more than one institution had come up within the sample, and it was thought appropriate to extend the enquiry to Councillors from such districts in order to get more reliable data from particular communities. (Lira District represented such a case). Some districts had some of the lowest enrolment figures in Uganda, for both boys and girls, and it was thought that further information gathering from people who knew the area would throw some light on the problem (Bundibugyo and Moroto). Kampala, being the Capital City was selected to represent a mixture of all Ugandan communities. Mukono District represented one of the better-off rural districts, with some degree of urbanisation (being near Kampala). Mbale and Kabale Districts were selected to represent the more rural communities.

Parents' Questionnaire

It was believed that parents would have very useful opinions/views to offer. The districts from which Councillors were selected were retained except that one additional district, Nebbi was chosen, to represent the North-Western part of the country. Nkozi area was chosen to replace Mukono District. The latter's population is similar to that of Nkozi, ethnically, but it was thought that for parents, a more rural community was required. As in the case of Councillors, parent respondents were selected from the areas where the institutional samples happened to be. Eight districts were chosen, with 20 parents from each, making a total of 160 respondents. After selecting the district, parent respondents were selected from the Resistance I level zones. If the zone was found to be too small,

then a few more parents would be picked from adjacent RC1 zone. Care was taken to question both male and female parents. If a man was picked from one home, then a women would be picked from the next. Seven different Ugandan local languages were used, (Luganda, Luo, Lugisu, Alur, Rukonzo, Karimojong and Runyankore-Rukiga). The researcher first went through each questionnaire with the interviewer (Research Assistant), where these were used, to make sure that the same meaning was conveyed in all languages. For example the word occupation, or meaning of "benefits of education" etc. required prior elaboration. Because it was necessary to go through the leadership of local Resistance Committees, selection of respondents in the Parents' sample had to be done with the help of these officials. This may have led to some bias in favour of the more educated group, as table 7.5 illustrates. However, it is interesting to note that even though this meant that the parental sample was slightly skewed in favour of those with higher education, there was a considerable difference between parents and opinion leaders, in terms of educational level (over 40 percent of parents had only primary or no education, compared with less than 6 percent of opinion leaders). Both urban and rural parents were represented, and therefore the sample provides a fairly representative picture.

Total Sample Size of Respondents to Questionnaire

Originally, due to logistical constraints resulting from conducting a national survey by one individual, it had been decided to limit the number of individuals questioned to 700. However, in order to tap certain information it was decided to increase the number of schools (and other respondents) thereby raising the number to 752. It was not possible to retrieve all questionnaires in the time available, but responses were obtained from a total of 643 individuals, as shown in Table 7.1; which represents a response rate of 86 percent. The breakdown of total numbers questioned and the responses received is provided in Table 7.1

Table 7.1: QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONSE

Group	Total Numbers of Questionnaires Administered	Total Numbers of Responses Received	Percentage
A-Level Secondary School Students	160	154	96.0
Higher Education Students	220	204	92.7
*A-Level School Teachers	64	62	96.9
Teachers/Administrators in Higher Education Institutions	44	37	84.0
District Women Representatives	29	11	37.9
District Councillors	70	45	64.3
Parents	160	130	81.0
Total	747	643	86.1

Source: Fieldwork Returns 1991

Demographic Characteristics of Respondents

A summary of demographic characteristics of respondents is provided in tables 7.2 - 7.7

Table 7.2: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY SEX

GROUP	SEX		
	MALE	FEMALE	N/A
Opinion Leaders (n=155)	54.2	45.2	0.6
Parents (n=130)	51.5	46.9	1.5
Students (n=358)	47.5	52.2	0.2

Source: Questionnaire: Numbers 3 (Opinion Leaders) 3 (Parents) 8 (Students.

Table 7.3: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY MARITAL STATUS

MARITAL STATUS	GROUP		
	OPINION LEADERS (n=155)	PARENTS (n=130)	STUDENTS (n=358)
n/a	1.3	3.1	3.9
Never married	16.1	10.8	79.1
Now married	75.5	68.5	16.2
Widowed	3.9	6.2	0.3
Separated	3.2	11.5	0.6

Source: Questionnaire: Numbers 4 (Opinion Leaders) 4 (Parents) 9 (Students.

Table 7.4: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE

AGE	GROUP		
	OPINION LEADERS (n=155)	PARENTS (n=130)	STUDENTS (n=358)
N/A	1.3	1.5	2.2
UNDER 20	0.6	3.1	26.3
20-24	2.6	6.2	46.1
25-29	14.2	10.0	14.5
30-34	17.4	20.0	14.5
35-39	20.0	16.9	3.1
40-44	21.9	11.5	0.8
45-49	12.9	12.3	0.3
50-54	5.8	9.2	—
55+	3.2	9.2	—

Source: Questionnaire: Numbers 2 (Opinion Leaders) 2. (Parents) .7 (Students.

Table 7.5: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION

EDUCATION LEVEL	GROUP	
	OPINION LEADERS (n=155)	PARENTS (n=130)
n/a	0.6	0.8
No formal education	2.6	18.5
Primary	2.9	23.1
Secondary	13.3	18.5
Tertiary/college	31.0	28.5
University	49.7	10.8

Source: Questionnaire: Numbers 7 (Opinion Leaders) 7 (Parents).
N.B. Student Group Self-explanatory in Table 6.1

Table 7.6: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY RELIGION

GROUP	RELIGIOUS CATEGORY				
	CATHOLIC	CHURCH OF UGANDA (Protestant)	MOSLEM	OTHER	N/A
Opinion Leaders (n=155)	31.6	58.1	3.9	6.5	—
Parents (n=130)	52.3	32.3	10.0	5.4	5.4
Students (n=358)	34.6	51.1	5.6	7.5	1.1

Source: Questionnaire: Numbers 6 (Opinion Leaders) .6 (Parents) 11 (Students.

Table 7.7: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY DISTRICT OF ORIGIN

DISTRICT	GROUP		
	OPINION LEADERS (n=155)	PARENTS (n=130)	STUDENTS (n=358)
APAC	—	—	1.7
ARUA	—	—	2.5
BUSHENYI	0.6	—	3.9
BUNDIBUGYO	9.7	14.6	2.5
GULU	0.6	—	4.5
HOIMA	2.6	—	3.9
IGANGA	3.9	—	3.9
JINJA	—	—	1.4
KABALE	7.7	10.8	3.6
KABAROLE	1.3	—	1.4
KALANGALA	—	—	0.3
KAMULI	—	—	0.6
KAMPALA	12.3	14.6	7.5
KAPCHORWA	0.6	—	0.6
KASESE	—	—	1.7
KIBAALE	—	—	1.1
KIBOGA	—	—	0.6
KITGUM	—	—	1.7
KISORO	—	—	0.3
KOTIDO	—	—	0.3
KUMI	2.6	0.8	2.8
LIRA	6.5	3.1	5.9
LUWERO	6.5	—	1.7
MASAKA	—	—	3.4
MASINDI	—	—	2.2
MBALE	10.3	13.8	5.6
MBARARA	5.8	—	5.3
MPIGI	7.7	10.8	7.8
MOROTO	7.7	13.8	1.4
MOYO	0.6	—	0.8
MUBENDE	1.3	—	1.1
MUKONO	5.2	1.5	3.9
NEBBI	3.9	14.6	1.4
PALLISA	—	—	2.0
RAKAI	0.6	—	0.3
RUKUNGIRI	—	—	3.1
SOROTI	1.3	—	2.8
TORORO	—	0.8	5.3
N/A	0.6	0.8	—

Source: Questionnaire: Numbers (Unnumbered for Opinion Leaders and Parents. No. 1 for Students. Total number of Districts 38).

Overall, there were slightly more male than female respondents, which would be expected. Female students were slightly over half the student sample. This is explained by inclusion of girls from mixed institutions which was then raised

by numbers from girls' schools. Marital status sample was as expected, parents and "Opinion Leaders" being represented more by the "now-married" group. Parents and "Opinion Leaders" were mostly from the age group 25-49 years, although a good number of parents were age 50 and above. The biggest number of students aged below 24 years and the age group 25 and above reflects mature students in higher education institutions. Almost half of "Opinion Leaders" were University graduates and almost a third possessed tertiary qualifications. This contrasted with the parents' group where almost 20% had no formal education and one third was from the basic levels of primary and secondary education. Religious representation was reasonably spread, although nationally, Catholics constitute over half the population. The study did not aim at including all Ugandan districts, although in the end the student sample covered all. Because "Opinion Leaders" included teachers, again, more districts than those containing sample institutions were represented — these do not necessarily work in districts of their origin. The general sample of respondents therefore provide adequate proportions of desired variables.

Samples of three types of questionnaire are attached as Appendix 7.1 (Students), 7.2 ("Opinion Leaders") and 7.3 (Parents). Not all information sought in questionnaires has been used in this study; particularly aspects seeking opinion on strategies for reform. Time and space could not allow processing and use of such information, and the appendix therefore contains abridged versions of the original questionnaires.

(c) Interviews

Interviews were held with senior staff in educational institutions and some top officials in the Ministry of Education. Although the researcher covered the same general topics in all interviews, the actual questions and interview content depended on the officer's schedule of duties, experience and interests. The summary of the broad topics involved is provided here below, including the list of the interviewees. Specific responses from the different interviewees are presented in the discussion of the findings wherever relevant.

Interviewees consisted of:

- Secondary School Headteacher or Deputy Headteacher (8)
- Primary School Headteachers (3)

- Principals, Registrars, Deans (4 University) of higher educational institutions totalling 12
- Ministry of Education Officials (13) (Commission and Deputy Commissioner for Education, Deputy Chairperson and Secretary of Teaching Service Commission; Deputy Secretary of the National Examinations Board; Senior Inspector of Schools, Officer in Charge IDA Project; Heads of Sections of Primary, Secondary, Teacher Training, Technical Education, Private Schools and the Careers Guidance and Counselling Sections).

Interview Questions/Topics: Open-ended questions were asked on the following broad issues:

On the System of Education

- Adequacy of institutions catering for girls (in terms of numbers and their distribution).
- Facilities for girls, within various institutions, especially the traditional "male" institutions.
- Current government emphasis on day rather than boarding schools and how this will affect girls' education.
- Views about co-educational schools; and its influence on girls' performance.
- Courses which could be provided outside the traditional system to cater for drop-outs and others requiring to re-enter the system.
- Co-ordination of the higher education system whose specialised units have been running separately.
- Need for a specific policy on women's education.

On Girls' Educational Performance

- Officials' experiences of girls' achievement at school.
- Assessment of subject/course options currently available for both men and women; in the various institutions and any obvious gaps requiring attention.
- Views about the effects of school girl pregnancies and early marriages on educational performance.
- Special problems facing female students; if any.

General Economic/Socio-economic Issues

- Effect of work load on girls/women's educational attainment.

— Effect of educational costs on girls' opportunities to obtain education.
— Parental influence on schooling of girls.
— Views about payment of bridewealth.

On Possible Ways of Raising Women's Access to Education

— Universal and compulsory primary education.
— Provision of incentives to parents.
— Delaying of marriages by educated women so as to render financial assistance to parents.
— Positive discrimination practices.

As in the case of questionnaires, not all information sought was used, particularly those concerning proposals for reform.

7.2 DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS

As Chapters 8, 9 and 10 will show, documentary analysis provides vital evidence for this study — ranging from direct government policy, statistical evidence from various sources, to opinions and views of officials and the general public. Mention should particularly be made of the wide use of mass media evidence. For more than two decades when Uganda was under civil turmoil, little publication of official or other literature was carried out. A lot of official policy, ministerial interviews, record of parliamentary proceedings etc. are often reproduced in newspapers. For example, Ministry of Education analysis of student performance at the various national examinations have for some years appeared in the government-owned newspaper, rather than in the government-official publication. Reports on various aspects of education by researchers and other interested commentators often appear as features or letters in such newspapers. Documentary evidence for the study is summarised under three major sources:

(a) Data collected from primary sources which comprised the following documents:

(i) Government Publications — Education Review Commission Reports; Annual Reports of the Ministry of Education, assorted government publications including Budgets, Speeches, Development Plans, Legal Documents/Regulations of Ministry of Education, etc.

(ii) Ministry of Education internal publications e.g. handbooks for secondary school teachers, ministerial policy statements, etc.

(iii) Press reports/newspaper/radio/TV recordings on the subject of women's education and other general educational news and feature articles.

(iv) Research reports relevant to the topic — mainly consisting of dissertations and research reports by university and college students.

(v) Manuscripts and books by people who have had direct influence on women's education.

(b) **Data Collected from Secondary Sources**: This included textbooks, and other forms of literature, both on Uganda and other similar countries. This includes the literature reviewed in Chapters 5, 8, 9 and 10.

(c) **Data Collected Directly from Educational Institutions**: As the detailed outline below shows, a lot of information was collected from the institutions in the sample, and general information gathered from various sections of the Ministry of Education. This composite data was found to be an important source, in view of shortage of published material as indicated earlier. The data from schools was of different nature, in some cases, from that of higher education institutions, as distinguished below:-

(i) Data Collected from secondary schools

General Information: This was meant to place the school in its setting, at both national and local levels. The information provided an indication of the school's standards, performance and constraints, providing some insight into institutional barriers to girls' education. The information included: date of establishment, funding body, current status (e.g. national, regional or district institution), when the school acquired O- and A-level status, and relationship between school and government: e.g. government-aided. Information was also sought regarding problems facing school, problems specific to girls and the school's future plans.

Academic Information:

— List of subjects offered by the school for O- and A-level examination. This would indicate the diversity of offers (or lack of it), and provide indicators to the curriculum and options available.
— Current student enrolment — reflecting capacity of the school and comparing boys/girls enrolment figures.
— Statistics on drop-out rates for 10 years. Originally 1977-1989 period was fixed so as to be able to cover the period between when a student enters secondary school and the end of the longest course at University — but this could not be adhered to for reasons explained in Section 5. Each school was requested to try and provide a 10-year record to show the trend.
— Indication of destination of students at the end of each cycle of schooling — O- and A-levels. This would reflect the performance of students and assist to trace girls' routes to higher education.
— A summary of the major lower level institutions which supply students to a particular school, at both O- and A-level entry. This reflects the status of the school within the country (popularity and prestige), its standards, its catchment area, and indications to accessibility for girls.

(The last two requests could not be adequately met. Schools do not keep such records).

Administration of the School: This information was regarded as important as it would show who makes policies and takes decisions concerning the running of the school. The information comprised of:

— Composition of staff, indicating males and females
— A statistical summary of teachers who hold special responsibilities, Headteacher, Deputy Head, Heads of subjects, Careers Guidance Teacher, Pupils' Welfare teacher etc. according to particular arrangements in each school.
— Composition of the Board of Governors of each school.
— Composition of the Executive Committee of the Parent/Teacher Association (PTA).

All information had to be gender-desegregated.

(ii) Data Collected from Higher Education Institutions

General Information: This included date of establishment, funding body, date of promotion to present status, governing instrument/arrangement, institutional prospectus, admission procedures and requirements for each course, and awards.

Academic Information (all statistical information had to be gender segregated):

— Current enrolment, to indicate the current participation level of women.
— Graduation statistics for the 10 years, or as long as the institution has existed (in case of newer ones), to show the trend of women's participation over time.
— Rate on drop-out rates, preferably for a minimum of 10 years, which might bring out comparisons in wastage at this and lower levels.
— Sources of students — this has implications for access from lower down the level — which schools meet the competitive entry requirements. The distribution of students in these institutions has implications for the regional differences, and can point to policy solutions too. (This information could not be obtained as required).

Governance of Higher Education Institutions: This information was taken to be important as it shows who is in charge of these institutions and therefore who influences policies, and takes decisions. The importance of role models, and the general under-representation of females at decision-making levels necessitated collection of such gender segregated data:-

— Composition of governing bodies (e.g. Council, Appointment Boards, Academic Board, Senate, etc.)
— Composition of important committees e.g. examinations, admissions, finance, establishment, etc.
— Indication of how the governing bodies are appointed and the institution's relationship with the state. This has policy implications, e.g. how far the institution can effect changes on its own.

Institutional Facilities:

— For mixed institutions; indications of facilities available for female students and specific problems facing this group.

— For others any specific factors hindering women's admission, e.g. policy, or lack of facilities. This information was particularly emphasised in technical and commercial colleges, where women are least represented.
— Problems peculiar to individual institution, and future plans, which might reflect on chances of improvement in future or point to possible solutions.

(iii) Data from Primary Schools

Although the main study does not go as low down to the levels of primary schools, it was seen as essential to try and find out causes of drop-out at grassroot level. This was therefore aimed at supplementing main sources of general data. It has been observed that at primary school, the number of girls enrolled is almost similar to that of boys, but as one goes up the upper classes, girls drop out of school more than boys. Originally, the intention was to take only one Primary School, choose one year and trace all the pupils from Primary One to University level; noting where all the pupils will have ended their education. This was found to be impossible because of poor record keeping. Instead 4 schools were selected; and a period of 10 years taken in which an attempt was made to trace each generation entering Primary One to the end of the Primary School cycle, noting those who drop out and the reasons why. In doing this, schools were asked to provide records covering 1970-1980, or any other period after 1970 for which school records were available for 10 consecutive years.

Schools were also asked to provide brief background information about the school — when the school was founded, founding body, its current status, in general the background of the pupils, its relationship with government (government aided, etc.), particular problems that girls may be facing, e.g. lack of adequate accommodation, and any other hindrance to their full academic achievement, and problems, and future plans of the school which particularly concern the co-educational nature of the school. Current enrolment figures — for girls and boys in each class were solicited.

Gender composition of teachers, and administration of the school (headteacher, deputy, class teachers, heads of subjects and/or any other responsibility held by teachers) was required. Lastly, information on membership of Boards of Governors, Management Committees and Parent/Teacher Associations (PTA) was requested.

Virtually all the information sought was provided, although in some cases not in the form required. It was only in two schools that problems arose; both of which were situated in an insecure area. In one school some information provided was inadequate and follow up was not possible as schools in that area had to close temporarily. In the second school all records had been looted during a recent insurgency.

General Quality of Data

As pointed out from time to time, there is general lack of up-to-date base line data in Uganda (Gertzel (1991)). This is clearly evident in international source documents, such as those of UNESCO, where in many cases, the Ugandan section is blank for the 1970s and 1980s. Secondly, and partly as a result of the above, the accuracy of available data sometimes calls for caution (EPRC 1989). Indeed, it is frequently impossible to obtain uniform information from two different sections of the Ministry of Education, on the same variable at the same time. Even the Minister of Education has lamented this short-coming. "It is high time we ran the Ministry based on information and clear data", so declared Minister Amanya Mushega in his address to a gathering of Secondary School Headteachers (The New Vision, 19-5-1992). Thirdly, most of the available research data has been collected on a small scale, based on small samples, and mainly undertaken by students at undergraduate, and sometimes at masters' levels, as the bibliography illustrates. Even where individual research has been carried out at higher/different levels, samples are still small and show the need for deeper investigation. Therefore, while it is to be applauded that the education sector has been locally investigated in recent years, the quality of this data still requires a stronger, firmer base, before it can be accepted as being entirely reliable. This is partly the reason why this study has had to gather data from all possible sources, including frequent reference to the mass media.

7.3 DATA PRESENTATION AND DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Qualitative analysis was used for the interpretation of documents, previous research, and to relate the findings of the literature reviewed and to interpret information collected during the empirical study. Much of the analysis and presentation of data also used quantitative methods. The study makes quantitative comparisons between boys/girls or men/women, and between rural/urban location and regions. The data

analysis was based on tabulation, mainly frequency tables, to obtain frequency distributions and cross tabulations to show relationships between different variables. In the case of frequency tables, proportions and percentages were calculated. Many of the two-way and multi-way tables reveal differences/similarities between the variables and factors, which are discussed in chapters 8-10. The main purpose of this study was to identify factors that influence access and to discover links between these factors, rather than to attempt precise measures of relationships or differences between variables. Therefore, the thesis does not apply further statistical analysis e.g. Chi-square tests; indeed attempts to measure the strength of association between the factors was beyond the scope of this study, given the wide range of variables in the investigation.

Prior to computer data analysis, responses to open-ended questions were first coded. Some re-grouping of pre-coded questionnaires was also required. The Statistical Analysis System (SAS) statistical package was used for questionnaire analysis.

7.4 DURATION OF THE FIELD RESEARCH

Collection of Background Information: Background information within Uganda was mainly collected during the first half of 1990. This included general information on the system and structure of education, types and numbers of institutions — schools, technical, teacher training, commercial institutions and Universities. This involved visiting Ministry of Education headquarters, some of the important institutions around Kampala, and other related agencies like the Teaching Service Commission, National Commission for UNESCO, and the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB). This data was meant to assist with refining the scope of the study and it therefore involved talking to a good number of officials in charge of various sectors of the education system. Official permission from the National Research Council and the Ministry of Education to conduct this research was also obtained in this period.

Development of Research Instruments: This period was spent on identifying the type of data to be collected and the general methods to be used. The fieldwork plan was then worked out. It also involved identification of focus areas for interviews; and questionnaire design.

Pre-testing and Adjustment of Research Instruments: During the month of August 1990, questionnaires were pre-tested. Respondents came from the Kampala area. They comprised of 5 A-level Secondary School students (2 girls and 3 boys), 10 University students (4 girls and 6 boys), 6 academic staff and administrators (3 men and 3 women), 4 District Councillors (2 men and 2 women), 2 Women's Representatives in the NRC, 5 parents (3 rural parents of whom 1 was female, and 2 Kampala parents). It was on the basis of comments and the other information provided during this pilot period that the final questionnaires were reduced, simplified, clarified and in some cases merged. This took up the rest of the 1990 period.

Final Refining and Production of Questionnaire, Working out Final Sample Institutions: This work took up January and February 1991. It was during this period that the questionnaires were reduced from the original 6 sets to 3 to facilitate better collection and analysis of data. In the original research proposal it was intended to investigate a wide range of factors associated with women's participation in higher education by means of six questionnaires to secondary school pupils, students in higher education, Women's Representatives, District Councillors, Teachers in Secondary Schools and academic and administrative staff in higher education institutions, and finally, parents. Because of time constraints it was decided to narrow the focus of the enquiry to factors affecting access, rather than attempting to cover all aspects of women's participation, and to confine the survey to three, rather than six questionnaires as follows:

(i) Students in Secondary Schools and higher education insitutions (original questionnaires were combined and simplifed).
(ii) "Opinion Leaders" — including Women's Representatives, District Councillors and teachers from both Secondary Schools and higher education institutions.
(iii) Parents.

Administration of Questionnaires/Conducting Interviews/Collection of Data from Educational Institutions and Ministry of Education Headquarters: Questionnaires were distributed during the months of March and April 1991. At educational institutions, permission was received from the head of institution, the method of administration agreed upon, and in many cases, a member of staff named to assist. Questionnaires were administered to school students by the teacher (at one sitting). In higher education institutions the questionnaires were distributed to Students Union Official, or the Registrar or Dean of Students, who

received the questionnaires back. The official also distributed the teachers' copies of questionnaires, after the selection of teachers was agreed upon with the Researcher or Research Assistant. Questionnaires for District Councillors were distributed through the Chairman's Office or that of the District Administrator. An official within the establishment was identified to retrieve the copies. For NRC Women Representatives, the questionnaires were handed out at a seminar organised for them under a different forum. Some forms were returned during that period, while others had to be chased up from individuals. For most of the parents' questionnaires, the Researcher or Assistant recorded the responses during the time of the interview. Several days (sometimes a week) was spent in a locality for this purpose. For all other types of respondents, dates for collection of questionnaires were agreed, but in most cases, these would not be ready and numerous trips had to be made subsequently. By the end of July 1991, most of the questionnaire returns which were completed had been received. Most difficulty was experienced with the District Councillor's group. Several times, fresh sets of questionnaires had to be issued, the original copies having been misplaced.

Interviews: were conducted throughout the fieldwork period, whenever it was possible to meet interviewees. Within educational institutions this was done at the time of seeking permission, and delivering the questionnaires. At the Ministry of Education Headquarters, most interviews were done on appointment.

Collection of Other Types of Data: This was done at the time of delivering questionnaires. A written statement of what was required was given. The type of data required could not be retrieved promptly, due to the manner of record-keeping. It therefore became necessary to "hire" a member of staff, in many cases, to extract this information from institutional records, during his/her own time, e.g. weekends. This led to long delays, especially where long distances were involved. From the Ministry headquarters, permission had to be sought from the Permanent Secretary, and then the officer in charge of the relevant section. Again, this information had in the main to be extracted from many different files and some one had to be "hired". An outsider could not be allowed to scrutinise current files.

7.5 LIMITATIONS

Limitations to this study were extensive, and are summarised as follows:

(a) The scope of this study: was found to be very wide-ranging, and therefore very time consuming. It had to be reduced towards the beginning of fieldwork. Instead of investigating the barriers which limit women's access to higher education, and those which hinder their advancement within these institutions, it was decided to limit the investigation to the former only. However, the constraints were not resolved altogether because of the varied nature of the institutions, and the fact that this was a study at national level. The use of sample institutions helped to reduce this problem, but the study remained quite wide-ranging. Sampling also meant that detailed local studies could not be made at grassroot levels, but it was felt that since a countrywide overview of the situation had not been carried out, the survey would be of benefit to furture localised studies. (As will be shown in the general discussion, variations exist).

(b) As a result of (a) above, wide distances involved were limiting. First, the researcher could not travel to all places in person for first-hand information; with the danger that an assistant may not be able to look beyond what had been explained. Secondly, some officials responded faster if the researcher was there in person. In all cases Assistants had to make at least two trips before completing the work. In Eastern Uganda, the researcher had to make a personal follow-up trip to retrieve the required information. Thirdly, wide distances meant a lot of costs (additional two or more trips to one place). Other places were not so easily accessible. For example, to reach Moroto, one has to use lorry transport, after waiting for a few days at the border district for official military escort to travel in convoys. In Bundibugyo, the road up the mountain is so poor that vehicles go up the mountain in the morning and all those going down travel in the afternoon. The researcher spent longer in the field than anticipated. The fieldwork exercise was carried out during the rainy season when roads were impassable. This period happened to coincide with the school term time, which was appropriate for soliciting information.

(c) Insecurity: During the period when the Research Assistant visited Lira (Northern Uganda) (5-11th March 1991); rebels fighting the Uganda Government abducted students from a Teacher Training College. Schools had to close, and this work has had to be carried out from the start later.

(d) Some amount of suspicion was experienced. A few institutions were reluctant to release information, in spite of having been shown authorisation

letters from the relevant bodies. In one institution, a vigorous campaign through a third party had to be made first. This also applies to certain individuals who have information in their custody (official or private) but are not willing to let it be used. They seem not to be sure whether the information will be used professionally. For some unarticulated reasons, local researchers experience withdrawal of information from such sources more than seems to be the case with foreign researchers.

(e) It was also noted that research is either not taken seriously or not understood. Many times, it was made clear to the researchers that research was not considered a priority matter by officials, which meant that the gathering of information could wait until people were free to attend to it. Many confirmed appointments were very easily conveniently forgotten. It was on rare occasions that one went to a public office and found the right officer on a first visit. This was a big hurdle.

(f) The type of information solicited from institutions required raw data gathering first. This was discouraging to both respondents and assistants. The situation was made worse by the fact that record-keeping is very poor in Uganda, one might even be tempted to say, non-existent. Even on the very few occasions that the data required was available it was not gender segregated and everything had to be redone. In all institutions, it was necessary to look up individual files in order to produce composite information. Even an expected document like a staff list could not be obtained easily. The result was that an Assistant at the site had to be hired to dig up information. This took a long time and necessitated return trips to collect the data. Even when funds for special postal delivery were made available, some 'pushing' or 'pestering' of the individuals was necessary. EPRC (1989) expressed concern about lack of basic data throughout the educational system.

(g) Accuracy of data: One major reason why detailed data had to be solicited from individual institutions is that although the educational system is centralised in Uganda, regular returns from the field are not consistent. As a result one gets varying information each time this is collected, especially on numbers of institutions, enrolment, staffing, etc. Again this meant that more time was spent on such a job, which could have been easily got from one source.

(h) Literature search is a problem in Uganda. Bibliographies have not been published by the major libraries in the recent past. A lot of research done has not been published or disseminated in other ways, and neither Makerere University nor the National Research Council has produced a Research Bulletin in the recent past. Looking up relevant literature on one's topic is time consuming and it becomes easy to skip useful information Gertzel's Annotated Bibliography on Uganda 1991 extensively describes this problem.

(i) Hard work, energy and patience are required for administering a questionnaire in Uganda. There is general disinclination to sit down and write anything; a face-to-face talk would seem easier but this is not possible for all types of enquiry. In some areas people have the impression that a researcher has so much money at his or her disposal, and they expect some financial reward for this kind of service. Other problems arose from the fact that parents could not be allowed to keep the questionnaires to fill in at their own convenience (because these were not self-administered). In such cases one had to wait for evenings, after garden work. Men in particular preferred to hold discussions at drinking places — necessitating a financial contribution from the researcher.

In spite of the limitations listed above, a considerable body of data was collected, and the final response to questionnaires was over 86 percent, which is good for a survey of this kind. In addition, a lot of documentary evidence was gathered as Chapters 8, 9 and 10 illustrate. Many officials found the exercise an eye-opener and pledged to ensure better record-keeping techniques in future.

CHAPTER 8:
FAMILY FACTORS AS DETERMINANTS OF ACCESS

As Chapter 5 illustrates, there are many family-related factors which determine women's access to education. The intensity, and sometimes the variety of these factors vary from one nationality to another. Because this study encompasses the whole of Uganda, where there are about 40 distinct ethnic communities, it was not possible to analyse all such factors within the scope of this study. Selection of a few factors was further necessitated by the fact that other non-family related determinants were being considered. Only three family factors were investigated — parental attitudes, socioeconomic status of the family, and division of labour within the family. Each is discussed under a relevant proposition. The evidence to support or refute each proposition is examined in two ways: first, previous research in Uganda is summarised, and secondly, the results from the sample survey are presented and analysed. This Chapter should also be considered in the general context of Chapter 3, where family structure and related issues are widely discussed.

8.1 PARENTAL ATTITUDES

Proposition I

Parental attitudes towards their children limit girls' opportunities to advance through to higher education. This is manifested through various indicators of male-child preference, leading to less direct and indirect patental support and encouragement for girls' educational achievement and attainment.

The impact of parental attitudes on girls' education is emphasised in the literature review (Blakemore and Cooksey 1982, Lewis et al 1990, Gertler and Glewwe 1990). This fact has been recognised in Uganda too. The first women missionary teachers observed that parental ambition for their daughters was limited to enabling them to learn how to read in order to obtain a new name through baptism (Chadwick 1898, cited by Wandira 1972 and Gateley 1971). Gateley (1971) provides details of the various tactics early missionaries had to employ in many parts of Uganda to persuade parents to let their daughters attend school. Official reports confirm this unwillingness by parents to release girls for schooling (Phelps-Stokes Report 1925, De La Warr Report 1937, Castle Report 1963). In agreement with Maleche (1961), Castle (1966) points out that the most outstanding

barrier to women's education was the negative attitude of parents. General historical accounts of educational development by Ssekamwa and Lugumba (1973) and Furley and Watson (1978) stress this, and district case studies by Wakjira (Kabarole 1983), and Odama (Moyo 1987) also confirmed parental attitude to be an important educational determinant.

The main obstacle that parents appear to encounter is that formal education changes the status quo. The literature review emphasised the importance of custom in African communities. The situation analysis of Ugandan women has shown that many customs which treat men and women differently are still embedded in the fabric of society. In this connection, two factors that are likely to influence parental attitude to girls' education emerge.

(i) Dismantling traditional values and practices

Gateley's study (1971) of 13 Ugandan districts (out of a total of 15 then) records extensive fear of social change on the part of parents. First, parents were worried that girls would not be willing to do all the work they would otherwise do in their villages if they went to school (Maleche 1961 and Gateley 1971). The first girls to attend school confirm this experience (Lubega, from Buganda and Apoko from Acholi, cited by Stanton 1969). In view of women's heavier workload demonstrated in Chapter 3, parents would be on the losing side. In some parts (e.g. Acholi and Kigezi) mothers were even more opposed to girls' schooling than fathers, as mothers would lose helpers (Gateley 1971). Akello (1990) records how mothers in Teso would hide daughters in granaries whenever the local mission teacher came along. One other major worry was that girls were likely to break the various food taboos observed by their societies. For example, in Ankole and Toro districts, parents from the pastoralist communities were worried that the school diet would not contain enough milk, and would thus slow down the traditional fattening process. Thinner girls attracted less bridewealth. Even in Buganda where parents were seen to be more liberal, worries about such traditional taboos being violated were expressed (Gateley 1971, Wadira 1972). Karamoja parents feared that girls who attended school would be unwilling to revert to the traditional skins worn in preference for cotton cloth (Jignasu 1968).

This original threat did not suddenly disappear. It is still at the back of parents' minds. In her study on attitudes about educated women in Buddu County (Buganda), Kirunda (1976) came up with a host of reasons why parents thought educated girls displayed negative behaviour. They could no longer kneel down

when talking to men, they mentioned husband's names, they were not obedient, they were morally loose and could not keep marriages going. (Chapter 5 noted similar findings from Tanzania and Malawi). Kirunda (1976) was told by parents that if it were not for the fact that education led to paid employment, many of them would not be sending their daughters to school. Mubugha-Makasi (1981) found that the influence of education on cultural values was still an important concern of parents in Kasese district.

(ii) The Traditional Role of Women

This is further considered under societal factors but is presented here to show the extent it can influence parents' decisions in educational investment. Chapter 3 illustrates that society expects all girls to get married and play their roles as wives and mothers. This is likely to influence parents' decision, especially where resources are scarce. Indeed, Odama (1987) found that parents were convinced that since girls will end up in marriage, they will only need enough education to enable them to play this role adequately. For this reason some parents confirmed that they paid boys' school fees first, in the hope that they would be able to raise more funds later and then pay for girls. He concluded that this was one of the main reasons why girls were under represented in the Teacher Training College serving his research area (22 girls and 369 boys). When this is combined with the evidence of male-child preference illustrated in Chapter 3, parents are likely to pay less attention to and provide less support for girls' education (Kirunda 1976, Makumbi 1961, Ntozi et al 1990 etc).

The fear and reluctance cited above has acted in favour of boys, over their sisters. McGregor (1967) cites a reference from Budo records where a man whose daughter had been admitted to school in 1948 came to ask the Headmaster if his son could take the place instead — a request turned down. Although this is a well-known fact, concrete research to determine the extent to which boys are given preference is lacking. Odama (1987) was able to establish this on a small scale (Madi-Okollo County of Moyo District). Many parents in his study stated clearly that faced with financial constraints, they would pay boys' school fees first, and in fact did so. A more recent example of this gender bias is the research carried out in Mubende (rural) and Kampala (urban) districts to assess the causes of school-girl drop out at the upper levels of primary school by ACFODE (1991b). Interviews with 103 rural parents and 80 urban parents revealed that 34% of them would only pay for sons' schooling, if faced with financial constraints, and 11% decided in favour of daughters while 55% had no preference.

This research tested parental attitudes differently. Firstly parents were asked to pick from a list of six, what they thought presented the ***single biggest obstacle*** to women's education in Uganda. Their response, presented in Table 8.1 shows clearly that parental attitudes are the biggest determinant, very distinct from other obstacles (44% of responses, with the next biggest number, 25% for division of labour).

Table 8.1: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERCEIVED OBSTACLES TO WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN UGANDA

Obstacle	Percentage n=130
Availability of Institutions	6.2
Teachers' Attitudes	1.5
Subject Options	2.3
Division of Labour	25.4
Customary Practices	14.6
Parental Attitudes	43.8
N/A	6.2

Source: Fieldwork Parents' Questionnaire Number 20.

Secondly, parents were asked to prioritise a list of beneficiaries from female education. This was aimed at testing the fact that parents regard investment in daughter's education as a consumption rather than investment since the benefits will be enjoyed by the family into which girls marry. If that be the case, then parents are less likely to spend scarce resources on this item. Responses of parents are presented in Table 8.2

TABLE 8.2: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF EXPECTED BENEFICIARIES FROM FEMALE EDUCATION

Beneficiary	Percentage n= 130
Self	27.7
Parents	6.2
Children and family	56.2
N/A	9.9

Source: Fieldwork Parents' Questionnaire No. 22.

The responses clearly show that parents believe female education benefits their future families. Parents are regarded as deriving least benefit (only 6% agreed that parents were beneficiaries). This confirms Ntozi et al (1990) findings presented in Chaper 3 that parents believe they gain more advantages from sons than daughters. Unless funds are therefore available, parents will have to make a choice in whom to invest.

The research also sought views of "Opinion Leaders" and student respondents about highly educated women. They were asked to pick any one view (from among five) that they thought was the most widely held by the public at large. The results show that overall, negative factors prevailed, in the case of "Opinion Leaders" (58%) although the students' response suggested these views less fervently (35%) (Table 8.2). A big percentage of "Opinion Leaders" were parents or potential parents (76% were married); they not only play an influential role in society but are also in a position to interact with a cross-section of society. Their assessment of negative views therefore is representative of parental and general societal views about educated women. Students' views are not a good omen for the future either. Such negative views act as disincentives to parents, and consequently influence their attitudes towards daughters' attainment of higher education.

Table 8.3: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF VIEWS ABOUT HIGHLY EDUCATED WOMEN

View	Percentage	
	Opinion Leaders (n=155)	Students (n=358)
Argumentative	26.5	12.8
Better Health Promoters	23.9	37.2
Positive Effect on Child Schooling	16.8	26.1
Too old for marriage	12.6	4.5
Conceited	18.7	17.6
N/A	1.3	1.8

Source: Fieldwork data — Questionnaire Number 22 (Opinion Leaders) and 25 (Students).

To assess attitudinal factors further, female respondents from the "Opinion Leaders" group were asked to state whether or not they had heard any negative

views expresed about highly educated women. The researcher regarded personal experiences of such civic leaders to be real and important. Sixty nine females responded to this questionnnaire of whom 64% said they had heard some negative views about educated women. The different views, obtained from an open-ended questionnaire, and subsequently classified are presented in table 8.4.

Table 8.4: DISTRIBUTION OF NEGATIVE VIEWS EXPERIENCED BY FEMALE OPINION LEADERS (n = 69)

View	Percentage Response
Ignore Culture/tradition	20.3
Too conceited	31.4
Unco-operative at Community level	14.3
Poor housewives and mothers	23.6
Too old for marriage	7.9
Morally loose	2.4

Source: Fieldwork Returns, Questionnaire N0. 18 ("Opinion Leaders").

The views presented in Table 8.4 were fairly evenly spread. Ignoring culture mainly referred to not respecting husbands and in-laws e..g kneeling down before them. Respondents explained that educated women did not get on well with other people especially fellow women at grassroots level. Poor housewifery, mainly referred to spending most of the time in offices instead of looking after children and husbands, and leaving most of domestic work to housemaids. Some respondents explained that the community regards such women as "barren" since they are not likely to produce the number of children deemed adequate, because they start the process too late. Only a few had heard of tags of immorality. All these indicate that the views recorded by earlier researchers are still prevalent in society. They still influence parental attitudes and would not encourage families to allocate scarce resources to producing such types of person.

CHILD SEX

	PARENTS (35)*								OPINION LEADERS (15)*								STUDENTS (203)*							
	< PR		O-L		A-L		HIGH		< PR		O-L		A-L		HIGH		< PR		O-L		A-L		HIGH	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Lack of fees	4.6	3.1	2.3	8.5	1.5	—	0.7	—	1.3	—		0.6	—	—	—	—	11.2	10.9	7.5	3.6	4.5	2.8	1.1	0.3
Parental Choice	0.8	1.5	1.5	0.8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.8	2.5	0.3	0.8	0.3	0.8	—	0.3
Boys' Choice	1.5	—	0.8	—	0.8	—	0.8	—	—	—	0.6	—	0.6	—	0.6	—	8.9	—	6.1	—	3.6	—	0.9	—
Girls' Choice	1.5	5.4	—	—	—	—	—	1.9	—	1.3	—	—	—	0.6	—	—	—	6.7	—	3.1	—	3.1	—	—
Pregnancy	—	1.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.6	—	1.9	—	—	—	—	—	4.7	—	7.5	—	1.1	—	1.3
Other	3.1	2.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.6	—		1.3	0.7	—	—	—	1.7	2.2	1.4	2.6	1.7	2.8	0.5	—
Total % Drop out by level and Sex	11.5	13.5	4.6	9.3	2.3	0.0	1.5	1.9	1.9	1.9	0.6	3.8	1.3	0.6	0.6	0.0	22.6	27.0	15.3	17.6	10.1	10.6	2.5	1.9

* Refers to total numbers of reported drop-outs of their families.
Source: Fieldwork Questionnaire Number 11 (Parents), 11 (Opinion Leaders), and 18 (Students).

Efforts to relate such attitudes to causes of drop-out by boys and girls did not yield significant results (Table 8.5). Parents, "Opinion Leaders" and students were asked to state the number of boys and girls in their families who had dropped out of school, at what level, and for what reasons. Only 35 cases were recorded by parents, and 15 by Opinion leaders. This may reflect the relatively high levels of education of these respondents. Such people are more likely to endeavour to educate all their children. Although student responses showed 203 drop-outs, among their families, reasons did not show any clear pattern.

Evidence in this section supports previous findings that parental attittude is important in determining whether or not scarce resources are likely to be invested equally in the education of girls and boys, and suggest that parents view girls' education as consumption. Odama (1987) noted that even when free education was offered in Madi district (after a civil war period in the early 1980s) girls' school enrolment did not rise. Investment decisions tend to favour boys because of prevailing attitudes about women's education. Parental attitudes are reinforced by other factors, two of which are explored in the next sections.

8.2 SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF FAMILY

Proposition 2

The socioeconomic status of the family has a stronger influence on girls' access to education than boys'. Unless the family is able to educate both boys and girls, the latter are less likely to reach the apex of the educational ladder.

Parental ability to pay school fees and related expenses was highlighted in Chapter 5 as a very important access factor. This is particularly so among low income countries where free education is not possible. In this study, the socioeconomic status of the family was assessed in terms of economic status of the family, and parental level of education, partly regarded as an indicator of income and of the family's standing within society. This has an influence on female education.

First, evidence is provided to show that educating a child in Uganda is very expensive. This is compared with family income at national level to show that parents are pushed into taking decisions as to how meagre resources can be invested in the children's education. Education in Uganda is free only at higher education level. At other levels, government makes contributions, but this is

negligible in real terms, due to poor performance of the economy described in Chatpers 2 and 9. The cost of secondary boarding school was calculated to be Shs 26,000 in a rural area and shs 65,000 in an urban area per school term (EPRC 1989). Esanu (1991) calculated the cost to be shs 75,002 for a day student, and shs 117,317 per student in a boarding school per year. The Minister of Education calculates shs 150,000 per year for a student in boarding school (The Weekly Topic, 10-8-1990). Parents have to contribute other items in kind, the figures cited above are therefore underestimates. This is reflected in numerous outcries frequently voiced by parents through newspapers. For example, a "concerned parent" complains about a certain school where each year new students are requested to bring hoes, pangas and double-decker beds which later become school property (The Weekly Topic 7th June, 1989). Some schools ask for sheets of iron , bags of cement etc, and this is not to mention the students' personal requirements which include bedding, stationery, toiletries and foodstuffs to supplement the poor school diet (The Weekly Topic, 10-8-1990). Although the above estimates refer to secondary schools, some boarding primary schools charge equally high fees. Lugalambi's survey (The Weekly Topic, 29th March, 1991) revealed that some primary schools charged higher fees than secondary schools — Kaboja Primary School at shs 70,000 as compared to Kibuli or Nabisunsa Secondary Schools at shs 50,000 per term.

As the section on policy (Chaper 9) shows, Government can no longer afford to meet the educational bill in full. The burden has progressively fallen on parents. Parent/Teacher Associations (PTA) have in effect taken over the job of running schools, through payment of feeding expenses, stationery, uniforms, building maintenance and supplementing teachers' salaries, as well as purchasing and maintaining school lorries and buses. The EPRC (1989) estimates that PTAs meet up to 90% of school expenses, although this varies from school to school (See also Kalinaki's historical account of the rise of PTA's in Uganda — The New Vision, June 29th, 1989). The result is that only those schools which are able to levy high PTA charges can provide good quality education, and only those parents who can afford to pay such charges can send their children to good schools. This has negative implications for girls as it means that more pressure is placed on parents to make choices as to which of their children should benefit from education.

When the above expenses are compared with the average income and expenditure of parents nationwide, the burden becomes clearer. Ugandan parents can be classified in the following broad bands of monthly expenditures.

Per household monthly Expenditure (Ug. shs)	Percentage of total number of households
1. Up to Shs 50,000	80%
2. Shs 50,000 - 100,000	15%
3. Above Shs 100,000	5%

(Source: Summarised from Table 6 - Key Economic Indicators — July 1991, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development (MPED).

The above calculations were based on results (and classification) of the National Household Budget Survey (1989/90). Findings about household monthly consumption expenditure reveal that those with more money spend more on education and related support. Table 8.6 shows that those with the lowest income (80%) spend only 1.37% of their expenditure on education, the middle class (15%) spends 3.83% while those with highest income (5%) spend 6.2% of their income on education. This means that the majority of parents are unable to afford the bills cited above as secondary school expenses, even for one child (average of 6 per household — Household Budget Survey 1989/90). Again, this goes to emphasise that most parents have no alternative but to educate only some of their children.

Attempts by this study to relate parental income to cost of schooling did not yield fruit. Information received from parents on household income (questionnaire numbers 23-29) indicated that parents were not willing to reveal actual amounts and sources of their income. Only half the respondents answered any questions on income, and most of these answers were incomplete. 40% of them were in government employment while the rest were evenly distributed as being self-employed, working in private firms or parastatal bodies. They indicated low levels of montly income, an average of shillings 10,000/= and did not wish to reveal sources of additional income. This would imply that none of them is able to sustain one child through secondary schooling. This being a research by an individual, alternate ways of seeking this kind of data, e.g. through detailed itemised household expenditure could not be explored. It was therefore decided to use results of wider national surveys, already provided above and study previous research findings, in addition to other techniques discussed below.

Table 8.6: AVERAGE PER HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY EDUCATION EXPENDITURE IN UGANDA BY INCOME LEVELS (in Shillings)

ITEM DESCRIPTION	Monthly Expend. up to 50,000/=		Monthly Expend. >50,000/= <100,000/=		Monthly Expend. 100,000/= & Above		All Groups Combined	
	Per h. Monthly Expenditure	% age of Total Expenditure	Per h. Monthly Expenditure	% age of Total Expenditure	Per h. Monthly Expenditure	% age of Total Expenditure	Per h.h Monthly Expenditure	% age of Total Expenditure
Textbooks, other books and journals	3	0.01	85	0.12	336	0.23	60	0.12
Newspapers and othe printed matter	6	0.02	414	0.60	576	0.39	172	0.34
School, College and University fees	252	0.93	1,534	2.22	5,948	4.01	1,204	2.35
Coaching class fees	1	0.00	63	0.09	392	0.26	60	0.12
Exercise books, schooling materials & stationery	37	0.13	293	0.43	972	0.65	204	0.40
School uniform	59	0.22	202	0.29	827	0.56	179	0.35
Others	16	0.06	51	0.08	146	0.10	39	0.08
TOTAL	**374**	**1.37**	**2,642**	**3.83**	**9,197**	**6.20**	**1,918**	**3.75**

Source: Uganda National Household Budget Survey (1989-90) (Part of table 1.06-13).

One of the few Ugandan studies to assess the effect of family income on education of children was by Odama (1987). Based in a rural setting, his research findings showed that although on the whole the majority of the parents were poor, those with regular income (such as government workers) were more able to send their children to school on a regular basis. Teachers in this county revealed that two-thirds of the pupils left school due to lack of school fees. Using graduated tax assessments as a measure of economic status, Odama found that more than half of the parents in his study were in the lowest quarter of the assessment grade. As a result over 60% of parents complained of unaffordable school fees. Of the drop outs interviewed, 83% of their fathers were peasants while 90% of the mothers were full-time housewives, indicating lowest income cadre.

The importance of this socioeconomic factor was again revealed in this current study. The questionnaire asked parents and "Opinion Leaders" to list four main causes of school drop-outs, separating those which affect boys and girls. The results, in Table 8.7, show that the economic factor is more important than any other factor. However both parents and "opinion leaders" regard this as more important for boys than girls. This is likely to be due to the strong influence of "marriage" as a cause of school-girl drop-out, whereas for boys the main cause seems to be lack of funds.

TABLE 8.7: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERCEIVED CAUSES OF DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL BY CHILD-SEX

	PARENTS (n=130)		OPINION LEADERS (n=155)	
CAUSES	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
Economic	77.7	43.0	72.7	47.6
Academic	3.1	4.6	1.9	1.9
Parental Decision	0.6	3.6	0.8	3.9
Marriage Related	11.5	39.3	3.2	26.5
Social	1.6	4.6	5.1	4.5
Cultural	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.6
Limited access	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.6
Other	5.5	4.9	15.7	15.3

Source: Fieldwork Questionnaire Returns Number 12 (Parents), and 12 ("Opinion Leaders").

To investigate the effect of the socioeconomic status of family on access to higher education, the researcher used a sample of 488 Makerere students (10%) classified by occupation of father. (The University entry form does not seek maternal information). This is an important access indicator since each year, Makerere first picks the best qualified A-level holders, before the rest are distributed to other higher education institutions. Students were randomly selected to include all major courses and years of study and to obtain a gender balance. For boys and girls as a whole, the results (shown in Appendix 6.1) show that the children of professionals, teachers, semi-professionals and technical workers, businessmen and farmers are unproportionately represented, in comparison with peasants, although 90% of the population is rural, and 80% of these are regarded as "poor peasants" (Banugire 1989). The under-representation of peasant families was particularly severe in the case of girls, who represented only 15% of students with a peasant background, compared with 52% of students whose fathers were businessmen, and 62% of children of farmers (i.e. landowners). This suggests that family income is important for a girl to reach higher education, and can enable her to overcome other obstacles, since parents are less likely to be faced with the problem of weighing the costs and benefits of incurring such expenses.

An analysis of parental occupational status of students in the sample survey also indicates that fathers' income is an important determinant. As table 8.8 shows, over 50% had fathers in the higher income group (teacher, professional, businessman and farmer). 33% representation of peasants is low, since peasants form the majority countrywide. Findings on mothers' economic status were less clear-cut. Half were found to be in the peasant group, which did not correspond with findings on fathers. However, under current circumstances, fathers' income can be regarded as the more important indicator of family status.

TABLE 8.8: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENT PARENTAL STATUS BY OCCUPATION

OCCUPATION	Father	Mother
Teacher	10.4	7.5
Professional*	25.9	4.9
Business person	5.3	6.7
Farmer	9.5	2.5
Peasant	33.2	50.0
Nurse/midwife	—	4.7
Housewife	—	13.4
Other**	15.7	10.3

Sample size 358.
* Include doctors, lawyers, bankers, social workers, agricultural officers etc.
** Other includes technicians, service workers, semi-skilled workers, routine workers etc. Teacher represents a big single category of professionals which includes all levels of teachers.

Source: Fieldwork Student Questionnaire Numbers 12 and 13.

Educational level of the family helps to indicate its level in society. Although it does not necessarily completely reflect family income, in an elitist educational system it implies that children of the highly educated group are more likely to obtain education. They also have better environmental support. In Uganda, education has created a strong network which allows such parents to lobby for places in good secondary schools, in addition to being better informed about the general operations of this selective system (personal experience and observation). Previous studies have shown this to be important too. Evans and Schimmel's (1970) study of six girls' schools in Uganda found that parents of pupils attending the more prestigious schools (Gayaza and Namagunga), had more education than those attending less prestigious schools (Bweranyangi and Sacred Heart, Gulu). They also found that in the prestigious schools more mothers were in paid employment than in the less prestigious schools. Also in assessing the aspiration and expectations of the school girls, they found that girls with better educated parents both aspired to and expected jobs which require higher levels of education and vice versa. Gateley (1971) also found that there was less education for girls in districts where parents' education was lower. Odama (1987) found that parents who had attended school tended to have positive attitudes towards both boys' and girls' education. In the 10 sample schools, 18% boy pupils and 9% girl pupils had

parents with no schooling. 20% of literate fathers and 20% of literate mothers reported that they paid both boys' and girls' school fees at one go. Illiterate parents made it clear that they would first pay boys' school fees. It was further found that 83% of the fathers and 100% of the mothers of children who were not attending school had never been to school.

The researcher tried to assess the influence of parental education by analysing returns from the student sample. Table 8.9 shows that 58% of fathers of female students possessed university or other tertiary education, compared with only 35% of male students. 50% of the fathers of male students had primary or no formal education, whereas in the case of female students, only 33% of fathers had primary or no formal schooling. Thus the females were much more likely to have better educated fathers. In the case of mothers, 72% of male students had mothers with primary or no formal schooling, compared with 51% for female students. 19% of male students had mothers with university or other tertiary education, compared with 33% for female students. Again, the results show that female students were more likely to have better educated mothers. This implies that parental education is more influential in enabling girls to reach higher education, in comparison with boys. The fact that fathers were better educated does not only reflect reality, but it also relates to type of occupation and likely level of income both of which influence the socioeconomic status of the family. In Ugandan circumstances, father's income is an important determining factor in child schooling, and particularly so for girls.

Table 8.9: DISTRIBUTION OF STUDENT PARENTAL STATUS BY LEVEL OF EDUCATION (%)

Parental Educational Status	Male Students		Female Students	
	Father	Mother	Father	Mother
No formal education	20	35	8	16
Primary education	30	37	25	35
Secondary education	15	9	9	16
Tertiary (non-university) education	24	15	36	22
University education	11	4	22	11

Source: Fieldwork Student Questionnaire Numbers 14 and 15. (Only the 350 respondents who provided full information on education of both parents are considered).

Overall, therefore, this evidence suggests that socioeconomic status of the family is a strong determinant of girls' education, and it may even neutralise other factors, by reducing the need for parents to weigh the costs and benefits of investing in girls' education.

8.3 GENDER-DIFFERENTIATED ROLES/DIVISION OF LABOUR

Proposition 3

Gender-differentiated division of labour places more burden on female members of the family. Female roles reduce the perceived value attached to girls' higher educational attainment, in comparison with their male counterparts. During the school enrolment period female roles are more likely to hinder their full participation, in comparison with males.

Chapter 5 illustrates how division of labour becomes a factor determining women's access to education. Girls/women have a bigger workload than men, girls start work at an earlier age than boys, and the type of work girls and women do necessitates longer hours. Women's education tends to be assessed against what their future roles will be in this context. In Uganda's case the nature of this heavy workload was illustrated in Chapter 3 from previous studies (Harmsworth 1986, ACFODE 1991b, Nalwanga-Sebina and Natukunda 1988). Specific duties are clearly divided on the basis of gender. No study has been carried out yet to find out exactly how many hours girls spend on household chores in comparison with their brothers, but the topic has been of concern to many educationists and commentators. Castle (1963, and 1966), Maleche, (1961), Ssekamwa and Lugumba (1973) noted that Ugandan girls were withdrawn from school to look after younger siblings and perform other domestic chores of cooking, carrying water etc; although no statistical evidence was presented. Odama's study (1987) showed that in Madi District, girls were withdrawn from school in order to assist mothers with marketing of produce, particularly dry fish (although he also found that some boys had to leave school in order to assist fathers with fishing — leading the Headteacher of one of the schools to state that their biggest problem was the presence of the Nile River).

In assessing the actual contribution of work done by the different individuals of the family, ACFODE (1991b) asked 324 pupils from Kampala and Mubende Districtics to indicate who did most of the domestic work. 42% of rural pupils (Mubende) and 40% of the urban pupils (Kampala) indicated that mothers did most

of the work. However, the next biggest portion of the work was done by girls — 28% in rural areas and 16% in urban areas. Only 2% of the work load for both rural and urban fell onto the boys. Housemaids performed 25% of the work in urban areas, and none in the rural, indicating a relief on the school girls' part in urban areas only, although it has to be emphasized that this is at the expense of other girls, who are unable to attend school. On type of work done, 62% of rural and 32% urban reported that boys did outdoor work mostly. Even in urban areas indoor work fell onto girls, although urban boys did more (11% workload) than the rural boys (6%). In the same study, 60% rural and 50% urban (of 183 parents) confirmed that boys did mostly outdoor work, while 63% of urban and 46% of rural parents said daughters did mostly indoor work. Following this issue, ACFODE tried to find out how this type of work affected performance at school, particularly with regard to doing school homework. 9% of rural and 5% of urban boys stated that domestic work prevented them from doing their homework, as compared to 16% of rural and 10% of the urban girls. ACFODE (1991b) study therefore showed that in the two Districts studied, girls were more negatively affected by the division of labour.

Mindful of the influence of gender roles on society's attitudes towards women's education, this study tried to test respondents' views on the issue. It was not possible to carry out actual assessment of the chores boys and girls performed. Instead, parents and "Opinion Leaders" were asked to indicate what types of chores they would allocate to their sons and daughters. The results are presented in table 8.10. Parents seemed to spread the work more evenly, which was unexpected, since the sample contained both rural and urban based parents, and previous research had found evidence of gender bias, particularly in rural areas. "Opinion Leaders"' responses seemed to be more in line with expectations, where girls would perform more of the general cleaning chores (17% for boys and 26% for girls), and do the bigger part of cooking (32% for girls as compared to 8% for boys). Laundry work and tending to animals fell more on the boys, and this is in line with expectations, since these are outdoor chores in Uganda. On the whole table 8.10 indicates that the respondents are 'progressive', distributing chores fairly reasonably compared to the general picture outlined in chapter 3. On the other hand, respondents may have been describing what they considered to be fair rather than what actually happens.

Under a separate heading parents confirmed the negative effect of division of labour by listing it as the second most important obstacle to girls' education, second to parental attitude (table 8.10).

TABLE 8.10: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLD CHORES BY CHILD SEX

	Parents (n=130)		Opinion Leaders (n 155)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Laundry Work	10.8	9.2	9.0	5.2
General Cleaning	13.8	13.8	16.8	25.8
Fetching water	7.7	6.9	9.0	5.2
Cooking	14.6	16.9	7.7	32.3
Tending animals	10.0	8.5	8.4	0.0
Cultivation	15.4	14.6	14.8	9.0
Other	27.7	30.1	34.3	22.5

Source: Fieldwork responses to Questionnaire number 13 (Parents) and 14 ("Opinion Leaders").

In order to find out views of the younger generation, students were asked to mark against a list of chores, those suited for the husband, wife, or both husband and wife. The results, presented in table 8.11 are in line with the usual division of labour within the Ugandan household, indicating a heavier workload for the female. 63% of carrying water, 87% of laundry work and 33% shopping and marketing, and 48% of child care fell onto the wife. As expected cooking was thought to be mostly suited to women. The response of this younger generation points to no immediate future change in the current division of labour which places more burden on females, and which is a constraint to their educational achievement and attainment.

TABLE 8.11: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF CHORES BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE (n 358 students)

Chore	Both	Husband	Wife
Farming	88.6	6.3	5.1
Carrying Water	26.4	10.6	62.9
Child Care	50.3	2.0	47.7
House Cleaning	12.2	0.6	86.9
Cooking	10.8	0.6	88.6
Household maintenance	13.4	86.1	0.6
Laundry work	20.3	0.6	79.1
Firewood	23.4	53.8	22.8
Child Discipline	90.0	3.4	6.7
Check on school work	90.6	8.0	1.5
School fees payment	65.9	33.8	0.3
Domestic Budgeting	76.4	19.0	4.5
Shopping/Marketing	59.3	8.0	32.8

Source: Fieldwork responses to Student Questionnaire Number 26.

The heavy workload that women carry, as demonstrated in Chapter 3 (and through the expectations of students in table 8.11), means that mothers are more likely to call on their daughters for assistance — thus hindering their performance at school, and sometimes leading to their being withdrawn from school. This is particularly so in rural areas (where the majority live). Gateley (1971) reported how the first women missionaries faced more opposition to girls' schooling from mothers who saw this as a loss of their daughters' labour. But even more important presently is the fact that the division of labour reduces women's chances to attain higher education. Because of the duties they are likely to perform in their adult lives (as wives, mothers and family workers) society remains convinced that minimum education is adequate for girls. For example, both parents and "Opinion Leaders" placed in second place the idea that basic education is adequate for girls, among a list of six barriers to higher education attainment by women (Table 9.1 in chapter 9). The division of labour has implications for type of curriculum for girls and enhances the importance of marriage, as the relevant sections illustrate in Chapters 9 and 10.

This chapter illustrates that parental attitudes are crucial in decisions to invest in children's education. Due to an interplay of various factors, this attitude becomes negative in the case of girls, thus reducing chances of girls' schooling. When there is need to chose who should go to school, preference is given to a boy. Negative parental attitudes imply that parents will not provide the necessary encouragement and support for girls and they will not hesitate to withdraw them from school. When a girl is not taking school seriously, it is not uncommon to hear comments like *Kasita zi Benzi Zirisiimba.* (Education is not so important in her case because in future rich men in Mercedes Benz cars will line up for her hand in marriage). This chapter illustrates that the socioeconomic status of the family matters more for girls than boys. If a family is not under financial strain, both daughter and son will be encouraged to attain the highest education possible, and this is demonstrated by the higher proportion of girls at university level from economically better off families. Indeed, from the beginning, most school children were drawn from a small elite of chiefly or rich families (EPRC 1989, and MOE 1990). This situation has not changed. Kiwanuka (1967) observed that education in Uganda was becoming a "rich man's harvest". This continuing process is confirmed by the most recent national educational review commission (EPRC 1989), and numerous complaints in the mass media, as Chapter 9 illustrates. Parents are constantly faced with having to weigh the costs and benefits of educating children and the hammer falls on girls. The division of labour not only presents a bigger workload to girls and women but leads to the widely accepted

view that women need not go on to higher education, basic education is enough. Since it is at family level that decisions of whether or not to invest in education are made, all the issues discussed in this Chapter become interrelated. The functionalist approach, which tries to justify the current gender differentiated roles places a negative effect on girls. Women are seen as wives and mothers, rather than paid workers, and therefore parents and society see no great need for them to go on to higher education. Poor income, lack of a supportive educational environment, division of labour unfavourable to females, all reinforce parental attitudes. In the end, parents conclude that it is better to concentrate efforts on boys' education, because society identifies a boy as a more useful off-spring. Both financial and other kinds of educational support are then apportioned accordingly. Responses from students, unfortunately, do not indicate any immediate future shift in family attitudes to women's education.

CHAPTER 9:

SOCIETAL FACTORS AS DETERMINANTS OF ACCESS

Chapter 5 discussed the manner in which a wide range of societal factors and relationships can determine women's access to education. This Chapter focuses on three groups of factors that are particularly important to Uganda. The first group concerns issues relating to prevailing family structures, and marriage systems. The second group concerns inequalities resulting from geographical distribution of educational opportunities. The third group consists of an assessment of how gender-sensitive state policy is, the provision of educational opportunities, and educational finance. The aim is to show how these three categories interact as barriers to women's advancement to higher education. Historical evidence, early and recent research findings and fieldwork data from this study are utilised.

9.1 FAMILY STRUCTURES AND MARRIAGE SYSTEMS AS DETERMINANTS OF ACCESS

Proposition No 4:

Kinship, lineage and inheritance systems within the Ugandan social structure devalue women. The entrenched belief in universal marriage, the widespread custom of high bridewealth payments, early marriages, and the resultant strict steps that must be taken to avoid teenage pregnancies place a lower premium on girls' attainment of higher education in relation to boys.

This proposition is discussed against the background provided in Chapter 3 concerning the position of women within the Ugandan family structure. It was shown that the prevailing patrilineal inheritance system bestows on the male child more importance and responsibilities, and that the rest of family relations are determined by this arrangement. Details about kinship, lineage and inheritance systems will therefore not be repeated here. Only issues that determine or influence women's access to education, and which arise from this arrangement that are considered. These consist of (a) the influence of universal marriage practices, (b) early marriage practices, (c) pregnancies outside marriage particularly teenage pregnancies, (d) the effect of bridewealth payment and (e) the link between education and employment in relation to these other factors.

(a) The Influence of Universal Marriage Practices

In the general literature review, evidence was provided to show that the importance attached to marriage has shaped curriculum and types of careers for women, in such a way that their choices of attaining higher education are limited. Here this issue is analysed at two levels. First, early evidence in Uganda shows that girls' educational life was short because of marriage requirements (Phelps-Stokes 1925, Annual Education Report 1935, De La Warr 1937 etc). Many girls could not even complete Primary School once they attained puberty (Castle 1963, Ssekamwa and Lugumba 1973, Maleche 1961). Indeed most female teachers got married within one and a half years of qualifying (Maleche 1961) and each year 20% of them had to be replaced because of marriage (De La Warr 1937). This phenomenon of early marriage resulted in hesitation by parents to release their children for schooling (discussed further below). The second and perhaps more important factor is that universal marriage has meant that girls and women are pre-occupied with marriage, at the expense of possible working careers. As Maleche (1961) and Castle (1966) observed, this fact inhibits development of imagination, initiative and independent thought — all necessary attributes for attainment of higher education. In his assessment of the legal status of Ugandan women, Kabuzi (1986) observes that many educated women still consider child-bearing and caring the core of their contribution to their society. Personal communication with the headmistress of a leading girls' school in 1990 revealed that A-level girls are anxious to acquire boyfriends before entering University, in order to take up early chances for marriage. All this is in line with other evidence produced in Chapter 3 that within the Ugandan society, universal marriage is the norm and that the lives of members of society, particularly women, are shaped by this requirement.

In order to test the extent to which marriage influences women's education, the researcher asked parents and "Opinion Leaders" to prioritise a list of factors usually advanced as barriers to women's education. The results, summarised in table 9.1 shows that the reproductive role of women is regarded as the greatest barrier (35% of parents and 45% of "Opinion Leaders"). The table also shows that the belief that basic education is adequate for women was rated high. This means that women are not expected to acquire higher education, probably because of their basic role of reproduction. In this connection too, indications are that marriage reduces expected benefits from women's education. Respondents thought that the fact that a woman's education is not beneficial to her own family was a strong barrier (23% of Parents and 19% of "Opinion Leaders"). To this, we can also add the observation that women are unsuited for office work. All these marriage-related

issues comprise 82% of parents' responses and 94% of "opinion Leaders"' responses. The few respondents who volunteered to add any "other" barriers were merely reinforcing the above observations. They were explaining how difficult it is for a married woman to help her parents and at the same time make contributions towards the welfare of her children. Others merely offered lack of resources as an additional reason but this is dependent on other causes since funds may be obtainable for boys in similar circumstances. Marriage requirement and expectations therefore present a strong barrier to women's education.

Table 9.1: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PERCEIVED BELIEFS WHICH HINDER WOMEN'S EDUCATION (%)

Beliefs	Percentage	
	Parents (n=130)	Leaders (n=155)
Women's Reproductive Role	34.6	45.2
Women's education not beneficial to own family	23.1	18.7
Basic education adequate for women	21.5	26.5
Women unsuited for office work	2.3	3.2
Religious beliefs	2.3	0.0
Other	9.2	5.2
NA	6.9	1.3

Source: Fieldwork Questionnaire Returns No 21 (Parents) and 21 (Opinion Leaders).

(b) Early Marriage Practices

One of the negative results of universal marriage is the occurrence of early marriages. Both parents and girls look to marriage as the ultimate occupation which can be taken on as early as practicable. The practice lowers girls' persistence rates and limits their number in higher education. That early marriages are prevalent in Uganda has already been demonstrated in Chapter 3. This section therefore only illustrates how this can determine girls' chances of schooling.

The Ugandan media often carry evidence of early marriages as a cause of low female enrolment rates. For example, 30 female students of Budiope

Secondary School in Kamuli District were reported to have either eloped or got married within a period of six months. The reporter was wondering how many would remain by the end of the year since the school only had an enrolment of 70 girls and 170 boys (The New Vision, 24.10.1990).

The average age at first marriage has risen to 17.3 nationally (DHS, 1989) compared to age 15 (De La Warr 1937, Gately 1971). Various research studies suggest that the average age at which Ugandans wish women to get married rules out higher education for them. Mubunga-Makasi (1981) found that half the parents in his sample (Kasese District) wanted girls to get married between age 15-20. In the ACFODE study (1991b) of Kampala and Mubende Districts, 62% of the 82 parents interviewed thought girls should get married between ages 15-18, and only 28% age 19 and above ideal. A seminar attended by community leaders of Jinja District recommended age 14-18. They argued that if a girl is not attending school at age 15, she should get married straightaway, especially in view of the AIDS Virus scourge (The New Vision, 19-8-1991).

Judging the issue of age at first marriage to be a strong indicator to women's access to higher education, the researcher asked Parents and "Opinion Leaders" in the sample to indicate their own preference in this matter, for both boys and girls. The results are presented in Table 9.2 . Almost half the respondents would prefer girls to marry between ages 20-24 (43% of parents and 48% of "Opinion Leaders"). One third of Parents and almost one quarter of "Opinion Leaders" thought girls should get married before age 20. Overall, the most frequently cited optimum marriage age (not reflected in the summary table), was age 20 (30%) followed by age 18 (20%). None of the parents expected girls to marry at age 30 and above. In the case of boys, however, almost half the parents (49%) and well over half of "opinion leaders" thought boys should get married between ages 25-29. The next preferrred age group, if responses of both groups of respondents are combined, was 20-24. More Parents would prefer boys to get married at age 30 and above. Very few respondents thought boys should marry between ages 15-19, and none below that. In contrast with girls, the most frequently cited optimum marriage age was 25, (50%) followed by age 30 (20%). The implication of these results therefore is that most respondents did not expect girls to attain higher eduation. Only a few urban students enter higher education at age 19. Many rural students are 20 and older, and therefore students are likely to complete higher education at the minimum age of 23 but often much older, depending on the length of the course.

Table 9.2: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RECOMMENDED MINIMUM AGE FOR MARRIAGE BY SEX

	Parents (n = 130)		Opinion Leaders (n = 155)	
AGE GROUP	Male	Female	Male	Female
Up to 14	—	3.1	—	—
15-19	9.3	33.8	3.2	23.1
20-24	16.9	43.1	19.4	48.4
25-29	49.2	14.6	57.4	23.8
30-plus	18.5	—	15.5	0.6

Source: Fieldwork Questionnaire Returns Number 17 (Parents) and 25 (Opinion Leaders).

Thus the general view is that by the time women complete university education, they have passed optimum age for marriage. This was one of the many negative views Amanyire's (1988) study revealed about atitudes of 204 Makerere University male undergraduate students. Again, an assessment of attitudes about educated women by this researcher revealed that this view was held among "opinion leaders" and student respondents, particularly among the former group. It was not particularly significant (13% of responses), but when combined with responses from another questionnaire specifically addressed to Women "Opinion Leaders" (Table 8.4), we can state that view exists in a cross-section of society. In a society where every woman is expected to get married, higher education seems to stand in the path of achieving that goal. Coupled with other negative views held about educated women, early marriage requirements, reduce their chances of obtaining marriage partners, and this causes anxiety among girls and parents.

(c) Pregnancies Outside Marriage/Teenage Pregnancies

Chapters 3 and 5 emphasise that because of the importance attached to marriage, and bridewealth payment, pregnancy before marriage becomes a loss and an embarrassment to the family. This fact is always in the minds of the parents and may influence the extent to which they may be willing to sacrifice scarce resources to educate girls who are not likely to complete schooling. It was an issue in the early days of formal education (Maleche 1961, Castle 1963 and 1966, Gateley 1968 and 1971). It is still an issue because teenage pregnancies, among schoolgirls still occur in worrying numbers.

Mubangizi's study of Kampala Secondary Schools (1980) confirmed that schoolgirl pregnancies were recorded as a major cause for their dropping out of secondary school. Mabungha-Makasi (1981) found that in Kasese District one third of girls left school because of pregnancy. Abondo's (1980) interviews with 40 teachers from Tororo District also confirmed that schoolgirl pregnancies were common.

ACFODE's (1991b) interviews with 76 school girl drop-outs from Kampala and Mubende District revealed that 15% of them had left school because of pregnancy. In the same study, 25% of 53 parents revealed that their daughters had dropped out of school for the same reason. This is also a common topic in Ugandan newspapers. For example, an NRC Women's Representative for Tororo District complained that school girls of 10-12 years of age were getting pregnant in worrying numbers (The New Vision, 10-6-1989). The problem is so serious that suggestions are constantly being made to punish the men responsible. A seminar of community leaders in Jinja District proposed punishment of 12 years' imprisonment for an adult man, and 6 years for a school boy who makes a school girl pregnant (The New Vision, 20th September 1989).

The researcher tried to investigate the issue of teenage pregnancies at three levels. Respondents were asked to state how many of their daughters or sisters dropped out of school for this reason. The results were not so significant but showed existence of this fact (Table 8.5).

The issue was also explored from fieldwork returns from sample secondary schools. Because of the manner of record-keeping, findings could not reveal exact numbers of cases of pregnancies, early or forced marriages. Pregnancy came fourth in a priority list of causes of drop-out submitted by schools (after lack of fees, change of schools and indiscipline). It was followed by early or forced marriages, "unknown" reasons, parental choice and academic failure. Urban schools found pregnancies less of a problem, involving one or two cases a year. All girls schools found it a serious hindrance. In rural girls' schools, the average was about 10 girls each year, mostly mid-way through the O-level phase. All girls' schools have regular pregnancy tests at the beginning of each term as most pregnancies occur during holidays. Headteachers in mixed schools reported that it was rare to find school boys responsible for making fellow pupils pregnant. Abortion, if it gets known, leads to expulsion. Early and forced marriages were reported by rural schools for both boys and girls, especially in Moroto and Bundibugyo districts. Girls in schools near army barracks or trading centres whether rural or not, were

reported to be more vulnerable. Some headteachers believed that in the case of girls "Unknown" reasons, is likely to mean pregnancies, and "Parental choice" and lack of fees can sometimes be an excuse for withdrawing girls from school to marry them off.

The issue of pregnancy is a serious one. An average of about 10 pregnancies per girls' school per year reported by some schools will amount to thousands of girls failing to complete secondary school education at national level. Abondo (1980) and Mubangizi (1981) had earlier reported that such pregnancies occur mostly around age 15-16. The result is expulsion from school (confirmed by school authorities). Abondo's study shows that the only help the school gives is to transport the school girl home. Even in higher education institutions, female students who become pregnant are asked to leave. NTC, Nkozi and Bukalasa College confirmed this to the researcher. The latter reported that the latest "victim" had been given a chance to return after delivery although she had not been able to do so. It is therefore true to say that fear that girls will get pregnant, and the available evidence that they do, both serve to reduce girls' chances of advancing to higher levels of education.

(d) Effect of Bridewealth Payment

As Chapter 3 amply demonstrates, payment of bridewealth is a deeply embedded custom among the various Ugandan communities. Early researchers show how parents were reluctant to release their girls for schooling lest they fetched less bridewealth. Gateley (1971) provides evidence of this from Ankole, Kigezi, Acholi, Teso etc, while Jignasu (1968) reports this in Karamoja and Auk (1967) in Bukedi, and Odama's (1987) more recent examples from Moyo. All this shows how seriously payment of bridewealth is regarded. Maleche (1961) reported that while an illiterate girl could fetch a bridewealth of about £50, a trained Primary School Graduate could fetch £100. It would however, appear that higher bridewealth paid for better educated brides has not become a strong impetus on the part of parents, as in Zaire, where parents were reported to have sent more girls to secondary school for that purpose (Chapter 5). Among pastoralists of Karamoja, education was a disincentive because educated girls were likely to marry teachers and government workers who were not likely to raise 50-150 head of cattle as bridewealth (Jignasu, 1968). Whatever the case, as Evans and Schimmel (1970) aptly put it, many Ugandan parents were not willing to "gamble with this wealth". A USAID (1991) pilot study in Tororo District revealed that parents withdraw

daughters from school on the pretext of lack of fees, then a suitor suddenly turns up and the girl is married off within a matter of weeks.

As part of the assessment of the importance currently attached to payment of bridewealth, the researcher asked all respondents to state whether or not they supported the practice. As table 9.3 shows, the practice is still highly regarded, particularly by parents (60%). This is perhaps not surprising since they are immediate beneficiaries (fathers). Slightly over half of "opinion leaders" were opposed to the practice, implying that they were perhaps more "enlightened" about negative effects of the practice. Students were divided half way, and this implies that the practice is unlikely to change in the near future, judging from views of the younger generation.

Table 9.3: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SUPPORT FOR PAYMENT OF BRIDEWEALTH

View	Students (n=358)	Parents (n=130)	Leaders (n=155)
Against	46.6	35.4	54.8
For	46.6	60.0	41.3
N/A	6.7	4.6	3.9

Source: Fieldwork Questionnaire Returns numbers 23 (Students), 18 (Parents), 23 "Opinion Leaders", 1991.

The respondents were also asked for reasons for their support or lack of support for payment of bridewealth. Respondents are grouped in Table 9.4. Most of the reasons put forward were regarded as being positive — ensuring security of marriages, appreciation for parental care, cultural requirement etc. Those who were opposed to the system indicated that women were being used as a source of income, with a bigger response coming from the student group. Most support referred to bridewealth being a sure way of providing marriage security. This again emphasises the importance society attaches to marriage and its survival. "Opinion Leaders" were not so keen on advancing it merely as a cultural requirement. Appreciation for parental care, which was fairly widely supported by all groups, implies that parents are losing and need some form of compensation. The whole idea of bridewealth shows that the woman is being weighed for her worth, and for what her parents have "spent" bringing her up and educating her. In future, the benefits of this investment will accrue to her husband's family. The best a parent

can do is to maximise this bridewealth and ensure that his daughter remains in that marriage.

It is therefore clear that the bridewealth practice still has a lot of support and if its effects are combined with those of universal marriage, fear of pregnance out of wedlock and current widespread economic constraints, parents are likely to pay more attention to ensuring procurement of this "wealth" as soon as possible instead of facing possible loss through the dangers mentioned above. This chain of practices creates too high ahurdle for many girls to jump over to higher education. The potential of charging higher bridewealth payments for the better educated woman has not become strong enough to encourage parents to work towards their daughters' attainment of higher education.

Table 9.4: PERCENTAGE OF DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS FOR PAYMENT OF BRIDEWEALTH

	Students (n=358)	Parents (n=130)	Leaders (n=155)
Cultural Requirement	13.2	13.1	3.2
Marriage Security	30.3	26.9	34.2
Appreciation for Parental Care	19.1	22.3	10.3
Source of Income	28.2	21.5	22.6
Religious Belief	1.0	0.8	2.3
N/A	8.2	15.5	27.4

Source: Fieldwork Questionnaire Returns Number: 23, Student 19, Parents 24, Leaders 155, 1991.

(e) Link between Education and Employment

As Chapter 5 illustrates, the link between education and employment, in many societies, has created the attitude that women need little education. The type of employment women are engaged in would appear to indicate that they do not need higher education in order to perform.

Chapter 3 provides details of the type of work Ugandan women do and shows low levels of participation in paid employment. Since education has to be paid for, parents will relate the amount of funds spent to what kinds of gainful employment their children will get in the end. Evidence is available to show this connection in the early days of formal education. Parents reasoned that since women were not going to become Chiefs, or government clerks, they did not need education beyond the basic requirements of reading and writing (De La Warr 1937, Kabuzi 1986). Parents in Acholi and Karamoja did not see the use of sending girls to school because when they got married, they would join the rest of the women in leading a traditional way of life (Gateley 1971). Odama (1987) found that Madi parents reasoned that the type of employment women are likely to get, did not require going beyond basic education. There is therefore a constant linkage: a questioning of the benefits a woman will gain from education in view of her role as a wife and a mother, and the evident fact that women are not found in highly regarded and high-paying positions.

The researcher used "preferred" occupations for women and men to explore views about links between education and employment. Respondents were asked to list four types of occupations they regarded as most suited to either boys or girls. The results are presented in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5: PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREFERRED OCCUPATIONS BY CHILD SEX

Occupation	Parents (n=130)		Opinion Leaders (n=155)		Students (n = 358)	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Medical Doctor	28.5	14.6	29.7	30.3	17.6	8.4
Lawyer	3.8	6.2	2.6	8.4	3.1	3.9
Engineer	14.6	0.8	18.7	3.2	31.8	1.4
Teacher	14.6	9.2	10.9	13.5	10.6	18.2
Accountant	3.8	2.3	1.3	1.9	1.4	3.8
Nurse/Midwife (Paramedical)	0.8	30.8	1.3	9.7	0.3	26.5
Clerical Officer	—	2.3	—	1.9	—	7.5
Farmer	5.4	2.3	0.6	0.0	8.1	4.2
Other	28.5	31.5	34.9	31.1	27.1	26.1

Source: Fieldwork Data — Questionnaire Returns, Numbers: 13 (Parents), 13 ("Opinion Leaders"), 21 (Students).

Only occupations most frequently listed are highlighted in the above table. The category "other" included occupations not so frequently mentioned. For men, the most frequently listed occupations were those of medical doctor, engineer, farmer, lawyer and accountant in that order. For women, medical doctor, teacher and lawyer were highlighted, but nursing remains the outstanding occupation with which women are identified. The occupations of doctor, lawyer and accountant reflect the relative inroads Ugandan women have made at university level. Women are not yet expected in the engineering field, as the actual situation also illustrates. While men were expected to become farmers, women who do most of subsistence farming work are not expected to improve their situation as commercial farmers. The results therefore corresponded with the current employment layout, described in Chapter 3. Men are expected to take up more of professional occupations, and no clerical work, according to these results. The types of occupations mostly identified with women do not require higher education in Uganda — nursing, clerical and to some extent, teaching. The popular medical field presents contradictions. The course takes the longest period to accomplish and does not correspond with optimum marriage age recommended by respondents for females.

Sadly, these findings also reveal that public opinion and expectations have not changed much over time. Neatby (cited by Douglas 1955) expressing her concern about girls' education, in her capacity as Assistant Diretor of Education, recalled how a Ugandan man had informed her that eight years' schooling would be enough for his wife. She would not shame him by her ignorance and yet she would be ready to submit to his judgement. Public leaders still indicate this too. Refer, for instance to the statement attributed to the late Cardinal Nsubuga that government should not give women positions which require their attention for 24 hours, e.g. Government Minister, as this means that women will neglect their families (The Weekly Topic, 13-19-1989). Education enables women to gain paid employment and yet this employment becomes an obstacle in women's fulfilment of their family roles. Since their roles are already established, the argument goes, then it is not essential for them to gain higher education. A balanced link between education, employment and family roles for women is still missing, even at basic levels of education.

Bitamazire's research (1990) in Mpigi District, and that of ACOFDE (1991b) in Mubende and Kampala showed that girls who dropped out of primary schools were worse off than their mothers, as far as gainful employment was concerned. They had not learned any useful skill at school, and because of schooling they did not pick up skills traditionally passed on informally. For example, they were not

good at basket or mat-making, or other types of handicrafts from which their mothers derived some income.

Paid employment does not appear to be a great incentive for parents to send their daughters to school. Higher education in particular does not fit very well into the family structure and marriage systems prevailing in Uganda. The factors in (a), (b), (c) and (d) above overshadow the need for women to become full-participants in the paid employment sector; for which higher education is a pre-requisite.

Perhaps societal expectations regarding higher education and women can be summed up through the responses of students who were asked to state the level of education they would prefer their spouses to obtain, summarised in Table 9.6 as below.

Table 9.6: PREFERRED LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF SPOUSE (%)

Level of Education	Male (n = 156)	Female (n = 169)
No Formal Education	0.0	0.0
Primary Education	3.2	0.0
O-Level Education	30.7	0.0
A-Level Education	41.0	5.9
University Education	25.0	94.1

Source: Fieldwork data from Students' Questionnaire Number 22.

N.B. Summary table includes only those who responded to the question. 16.7% did not respond.

Most female students (94%) expect their spouses to have achieved highest level of education. On the other hand, male students will not mind if their spouses do not acquire higher education, almost 75% would like them to possess A-level qualifications or below. The implication is that the students are influenced by the real picture, where more men acquire higher education than women. It also reflects the general belief within society that men should always be above women, whether in qualification or just by income — to reflect their positions as heads of families. It also confirms that generally women are not expected to acquire higher education.

As discussions in this section have illustrated family structures and marriage systems are strong determinants of female attainment of higher education. Every woman is expected to get married and this underlies life's activities, including education. Women must marry at an early age, and this reduces their chances and aspirations of obtaining higher education. Because parents "lose" services and material gains when their daughters get married and work for the betterment of other families, parents are not keen to spend scarce resources on their education. Instead, they must ensure that daughters enter into secure marriage arrangements. Pregnancy must be avoided and maximum bridewealth procured. If there is any indication that these goals may not be achieved, girls will be withdrawn from school, or will not be enrolled at all. Since women are going to end up as wives and mothers, a strong "push" to higher education remains elusive Lucrative employment and higher education are not regarded as essential to women fulfilling their central role within the family structure. Family and marriage requirements under-pin other educational access barriers. This was confirmed by 294 respondents in this study, who responded to an open-ended questionnaire on how to increase female participation rates in higher education. 25% of the responses concerned removal of family-marriage related obstacles (prevention of early marriages, interventions to avoid teenage pregnancies, abolition of bridewealth payment, etc (Questionnaire numbers: 26 ("Opinion Leaders"), 31 (Parents) and 27 (Students)). They are issues deeply embedded in society but which must be tackled if women's participation in higher education has to be achieved.

9.2 UNEQUAL AND UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

Proposition 5

Unequal and uneven development, resulting from differential distribution of natural resources, historical, political and economic factors, has led to inequitable distribution of educational institutions in terms of quality and total numbers. This has had a depleting effect on the female higher education pool, already more limited than the male one because of other factors.

The educational law in Uganda is not discriminatory, but the practice, and opportunities available produce unequal effects (MOE Paper, 1990). This section therefore assesses that availability of education country-wide, the manifestations of disparities, and assesses the overall effect of this on women's access to higher education. First, the section establishes the existence of unequal and uneven

development, and its influence on educational opportunities in terms of natural resources. Secondly, a political-historical account of how such developments have affected educational opportunity is provided. Thirdly, the development of women's education, and an investigation of disparities within this group are highlighted to show how this has exerted and still exerts limitations to women's wider participation in higher education.

(a) Unequal and Uneven Development

Chapter 5 notes the positive effect of availability of natural resources and related development levels in the economy in raising educational opportunities for children resident in such areas. Uganda offers a good example of this effect. Unequal distribution of natural resources in Uganda was outlined in Chapter 2 and will not be repeated here. It was shown that the North and North Eastern portions of the country are more deprived than the South, Eastern and Western parts which are also interspersed with pockets of deprivation here and there. Evidence on several further variables is analysed and presented in Appendix 6.2 and is simply summarised here to show that a child's place of residence affects his or her educational opportunities. There are many striking differences between rural and urban areas. In terms of numbers the rural population outnumbers the urban population (10% urban), but big differences in available resources exist. Chapter 3 emphasised the different levels of amenities available to rural and urban women and the better social services that urban women enjoy. Appendix 6.7 reveals substantial differences between rural and urban household expenditures both by region and by selected items which are likely to affect the quality of education. The result is that a girl or boy in the Northern region is seven times more educationally deprived than her/his counterpart in the Central (Buganda) region. Other development indicators, such as the transport system, show that rural areas are more disadvantaged than urban ones.

The Uganda National Household Budget Survey (1989/90) shows that urban households spend almost twice as much as rural ones on education. The fact that there are more rural pupils than urban is significant. The deprivation impinges on girls' chances further, since they are already disadvantaged by other factors. Although clear statistical evidence could not be provided by school samples in this study, more rural schools than urban ones reported that students dropped out of school because of lack of school fees (no gender segregation). When rural pupils leave school they are not likely to join other schools (communication with two headmasters of the two rural sample primary schools).

Urban secondary schools sometimes lose students but these join cheaper schools (returns from school samples). Appendix 6.4 and 6.5 show that at Kitante Primary School, for instance, in five years, only three boys and three girls had left school because parents could not afford school charges. Higher numbers of drop-outs at Budo Junior School are explained by the fact that this is a boarding school and young people may fail to adjust to boarding school life (Headmaster). Parents who send their children to such a school in the first instance are not likely to withdraw them on grounds of lack of funds. The two rural primary schools in the sample could not provide similar statistical breakdown of causes of drop-out. However, lack of school fees was listed highest in the summaries of causes of drop-outs provided by the two headteachers.

(b) Historical, Political Educational Factors

Unequal and uneven distribution of resources and development described in Section (a) led to better infrastructure in South and South East. Coupled with the fact that missionary education also was concentrated in these areas meant an unbalanced beginning. Formal western type of education was established by Christian missionaries who first arrived in 1877 (Anglican) and 1879 (Catholic). The process of establishing this education throughout Uganda has been documented by, among others, Wandira (1972) McGregor (1967) Furley and Watson (1978) Ssekamma and Lugumba (1973) Tiberondwa (1978). The first schools were all in Buganda area, starting with Mengo (Kampala) in 1898 (mixed), followed by others at Namilyango, 1901 (boys), Kisubi, 1906 (boys) Budo, 1906 (boys) Gayaza 1905 (girls). Ngogwe, 1906 (girls) etc. Tracing the expansion of this service throughout the country shows that the initial imbalance has persisted to date and this goes beyond actual numbers of institutions, but is further reflected in differences in quality.

Carter (1967) shows the results of this development through the distribution of government-aided schools. Two years after government took a more active part in the system (1927), over half the institutions were in the Buganda (Central) region which had only 28 per cent of the total population (Carter 1967 p.95). The expansion was so slow that no post-elementary education was available in West Nile until 1936, and 1937 in Kigezi. Whereas in 1945, the population of Buganda was 25% of national total, 45% of children attending school were from Buganda (Carter 1967). Establishment of Junior Secondary Schools outside Buganda did not take off until the late 1950's. Sessional Paper of 1958/59 records that in 1959, there were eight Senior Secondary Schools in Buganda, four in Eastern, three in

Northern and four in Western regions. 1964 saw the first big expansion in secondary education and table 9.7 shows that Buganda was still doing better than other regions, for both boys and girls.

Table 9.7: ENROLMENT IN SENIOR SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY REGION, LEVEL AND SEX (1964)

Region	No. of Schools	Total No. of students by Level							
		S1 - S4				S5 - S6			
		M		F		M		F	
Buganda	12	1932	(21.8)	105.6	(37.3)	178	(22.7)	105	(65.6)
Kampala City*	5	1806	(20.3)	809	(28.6)	217	(27.7)	41	(25.6)
Western	7	1245	(14.0)	197	(6.9)	132	(16.8)	2	(1.2)
Eastern Province	9	2714	(30.5)	594	(21.0)	194	(24.7)	21	(7.5)
Northern	8	1184	(13.3)	172	(6.1)	62	(7.9)	—	(0.0)
TOTAL	41	8881		2828		783		160	

* Kampala City (Capital) is in Buganda Region. Students enrol outside their regions, although the bigger number will be from within the region.
Figures in brackets indicate percentage of group total

Source: Uganda Annual Report of Education 1964 (compiled from Table B.13).

The next major general expansion of educational institutions took place in the early to mid-1980's. Data on number of institutions by region, (shown in Table 9.8 gives the impression that the imbalance has been corrected. For example by 1980, primary school enrolment by population in the 6-12 age group was more or less the same, ranging between 53% and 60% for all regions. At the district level, however, there are still considerable disparities, as Maps 2 and 3 illustrate. For example Bushenyi District has a population (1991 national census) of 734,800 with 510 schools, compared to Iganga with a population of 944,000 and 371 schools. Lira has a population of 498,300 and 230 schools, Kabale has 412,800 people and 349 institutions while Mubende has 497,500 people and 296 schools. In general primary schools are well scattered all over the country, although there are differences in quality which are discussed below. There are considerable imbalances at higher levels however.

Table 9.8: GROSS PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT BY REGION (1980)

Region	Population in 6-12 Age Group	Primary School Enrolment	Gross Enrolment Ratio
Eastern	584,525	349,521	60%
Central	631,818	366,244	58%
Northern	506,672	275,233	54%
Western	692,350	365,799	53%
Total	2,415,365	1,356,797	56%

Source: Planning Unit, Ministry of Education, Kampala (1991)

The imbalance is clearer at secondary school level. Map 3 clearly draws out the spatial differences in distribution, with concentration of schools in the South, South-East and South-West. Apart from the fact that these areas are more densely populated, they also fall into the economically better developed areas. Districts like Mubende, Luwero, Hoima and Masindi in the middle part of the country have few secondary schools. Worst areas include Moroto, Kotido, Moyo, Kitgum and Bundibugyo. These latter areas have already been shown to be deprived of economic activity, through harsh environment, or lack of official attention. On the other hand districts like Mpigi, Mbarara, Masaka, Mukono, Mbale, etc. have more secondary school institutions, arising from both historical and economic reasons. Table 10.3, page 243 showing numbers of government aided secondary schools by region, district and type, summarises this distribution.

At the higher education level disparities followed those at lower levels from the beginning. The Central region, which had better schools also sent more students to Makerere College (the only higher education institution for a long time). Carter (1967) showed that between 1928 and 1936 about 70% of students at Makerere came from Buganda. Because of a combination of the factors discussed in this section, the geographic distribution of students into higher education institutions continues to be unbalanced, with over 70% of students at Makerere University coming from Central and Western regions (Admissions Records Office, Makerere University 1991).

In addition to numerical imbalances there are glaring differences in the quality of institutions in Uganda. This study did not attempt direct assessment of the quality of individual institutions, but instead considered proxies, such as

day/boarding facilities, age of institutions, levels of performance in groups of institutions, and economic status of the area where institutions are located. All of these factors suggest widespread inequalities. The better quality of boarding as compared to day institutions in Uganda has been emphasised by Unesco (1983e) and EPRC (1989), and both reports noted a major problem of differences in quality between old and new institutions as reflected in availability of educational materials, equipment and appropriate teaching accommodation. EPRC (1989) and (MOE Paper 1990) stress that the expansion of the early 1980's did not take into account the maintenance of quality of institutions. Primary day schools at parish missions were suddenly raised to secondary school levels, with no laboratory, library or proper boarding or other teaching accommodation. Being in remote places, many of these new schools lack qualified teachers. Their deprivation is so glaring that they have come to be known as *"Third World"* schools or *"Tata Lorry"* schools - the ubiquitous Indian-made lorry being the only conspicuous valuable property such schools can boast of (Muwanga-Bayego, The Weekly Topic, 12-10-1990). They are actually reminiscent of Hattersley's **"Bush Schools"*** . In the girls' case, there is evidence to show that most of the single-sex girls' schools are in the category of "Bush Schools". In 1959, there were only three girls-only senior secondary schools (Sessional Paper 1958/59). By 1964 the number had increased to nine (Educational Annual Report 1964). Throughout the 1980's many girls' schools were opened, to bring the total to 53. Although the number is high, the majority are in the lower quality, newer category group.

Wide disparities in institutional quality can also be pointed out at primary school levels. Perhaps inequalities in educational opportunities can be summarised by Kanyike's conclusion that a child's schooling in Uganda depends on the parents' strategic location, affording some children access to "best" primary schools leading to "good" secondary education and therefore attainment of higher education (The New Vision, 15-8-1990). The disparities are so marked that suggestions have been made to discard one national examination grading and differentiate according to zones: very developed (Kampala City, Entebbe and Jinja Municipalities); developed (all district headquarter towns); fairly developed (Western, Central and Busoga areas) and underdeveloped (Northern and North Eastern) (Tibenderana, The New Vision, 18th June 1990).

---

* The first formal schools were generally classified in terms of hierarchy, consisting first of "Bush Schools" (set up wherever Hattersley found parents willing to send children to school), "Central Schools" which absorbed graduates from surrounding "Bush Schools" and finally, "High Schools" for boarding pupils. (McGregor 1967, Wandira 1972).

Distribution of private institutions is also very unequal, and private schools tend to be situated in areas with better economic performance and higher educational demand. In general, regions and districts with the greatest concentration of government-aided schools (Central, Western and South Eastern) also have the most private schools. Technical schools are more evenly distributed, but commercial institutions are concentrated in Kampala City, probably due to a better infrastructure (Appendix 6.6 and Map 3 show the distribution).

Location of tertiary institutions has also been inadequate. For a long time, all higher education institutions were situated in Kampala City (Central Region). Institutions were spread outside the city in the 1980's, either through up-grading existing institutions like TTC s to NTCs, Technical Institutes to Technical Colleges, starting new colleges of Commerce or establishing diploma courses instead of Certificate Courses, e.g. at Bukalasa Agricultural College.

The result of this sudden expansion without proper or adequate resources means that the older institutions are still better served. They have libraries and accommodation, though these may need renovation and improvement, as reports from sample institutions indicated. Newer institutions have no proper libraries, equipment and accommodation, as fieldwork findings revealed at Pakwach. Since students sit one examination, those in the newer institutions are at a disadvantage. When opportunities are extended all over the country girls gain more access, although quality differences still reduce chances for many of them to gain higher education. For example, UCC, Kabale has no electricity supply in its buildings.

(c) Development of Women's Education

The Phelps-Stokes Commission (1927) observed that the weakest point in the school system in East Africa was the backwardness of women's education. Subsequent reports have confirmed this (de Bunsen 1953, Castle 1963, Kajubi 1978, and most recently the EPRC 1989).

Tracing evolution of female education in Uganda is one way of unearthing this backwardness. The first school to be opened at Mengo, 1898 admitted both boys and girls, and was actually run by a woman, Miss J.F. Chadwick. Girls' schools were opened soon after at Gayaza (1905) and Ngogwe (1906) along with those for boys (Gateley 1971 Wandira 1972, Furley and Watson 1978). So what hindered girls' education from keeping pace with that of boys subsequently?

A full account of the development of women's education is yet to be documented. Gateley's (1971) account so far provides the widest historical background. Other studies are based on single district samples, and more recently attention has focused on girls' performance in individual subjects (see Chapter 1, 1.4 for elaboration).

A brief summary of the process of establishing formal education for women throughout the country is provided, showing that this resulted in unequal distribution of opportunities amongst females as a group. The summary is given separately for Anglicans, Catholics and Moslems as this was the grouping under which education was provided.

The Church Missionary Society (CMS) ran schools for the Anglican Church. Although girls' elementary schools came to be established elsewhere in Buganda, main attention was given to Gayaza High school, established in 1905 as the first girls' boarding school in the country. In 1945, it gained the status of a Junior Secondary School, Senior Secondary status (O-Level) in 1951, and Higher School Certificate level (A-Level) in 1962. Crucial initial support came from Chiefs. Sir Apolo Kagwa (Buganda's Prime Minister) argued in 1904 that lack of a girls' boarding school was a Muganda's broken arm (Gateley 1971, Stanton 1969).

A run through the whole country, mainly based on Gateley's (1971) account shows slow progress elsewhere. The first girls' school in Acholi district was established in 1925, but by 1942 only 32 girls were enrolled at this boarding school. Cave-Brown-Cave (1960) relating the slow process, tells of how in the early 1920's an elder brought a group of girls, tied to a rope, to a woman missionary to teach. Only a few remained after being released. In Ankole the first women's school was opened in 1903, but real schooling did not start until 1912, progress was slow as parents were opposed to girls' schooling in general, and to co-education in particular. In Bugisu, girls' secondary education started in 1900, but by 1913, the two white teachers record that they had to call at each home every morning to collect girls for classes. However, in the 1920's enthusiasm among girls was so high that the missionaries were getting worried whether enough educated boys would be found to marry these girls. In 1939, Co-education was established at Nabumali school, and in 1951, two Bagisu girls passed their Ordinary Level Cambridge School Certificate, beating all the boys. Girls' education in Bunyoro had a slow start in 1911, but by the 1920's with the support of the Omukama (King), there were more girls than boys at school. In Busoga, although girls' education started as early as 1901 progress was slow because the

highly polygamous chiefs believed this would reduce the pool of women. Busoga was also an unhealthy area - sleeping sickness, the plague, famine etc., thus discouraging permanent settlement by the missionaries. In Karamoja, the pastoral nature of the economy and a harsh climate made problems more acute. Although the first girls' school was established in 1932, it was only in 1963 that the first three girls reached Junior Secondary level. It was not until 1966 and 1969 that the first girl entered O-Level and A-Level classes respectively. The first girls' school in Kigezi was established in 1923 (with four girls) and progress was so slow that in 1947 enrolment was at 153 girls. The district was hilly and inaccessible, and Gateley (1971) tells of the hardships the first woman missionary (Miss C. Hornby) had to overcome, traversing hills on foot to persuade unwilling parents to release their daughters for schooling. Some parents demanded payment for loss of their daughters' labour. In Teso, the beginning was slow, apparently because of the fear of losing the high bridewealth. In 1922, there were 19 girls to 100 boys. In Toro the situation was favourable, with active participation in day school between 1900-1912 and in boarding school thereafter. In 1914 there were more girls than boys and reports show that by 1927 there was little difficulty in getting girls to school. Most of these positive results are attributed to the Omukama (King) and his female relatives (Gateley 1971).

Developments on the Catholic side were not any quicker at the beginning, and again, the first girls' schools were established in Buganda area. Catholic White Sisters first arrived in 1899, followed by a group of Franciscan Sisters in 1903. In 1903 the Mill Hill Mission started a girls' school at Nsambya (Kampala area) with a few others spreading out later. Catholic girls' schooling received an impetus from the work of Mother Kevin, who, after starting a girls' school at Nkokonjeru realised the need for local teachers. In 1920 she started a normal school for training "native" teachers and in 1927 established the "Order of Native Sisters" to provide a regular pool of teachers. In 1933, Nkokonjeru (Catholic) and Buloba (Anglican) were given support by government mainly to avert wealthy Chiefs' plans to send their daughters to England for further studies.

In 1944, Namagunga school became the first girls' secondary school, followed by Nabbingo in 1947, and spreading out into the rest of Buganda with schools like Kalisizo in Masaka. In other areas of Uganda, Mother Kevin's example was followed. For example, Sacred Heart Secondary school, was established in Gulu in 1933 but the areas which were isolated by CMS also got less attention by Catholics. It was not until 1961 that the first Catholic Girls' school was established in Karamoja. As subsequent statistics will show, the existence of

several Catholic Missions (Franciscan Missionary Sisters of Africa (Nkokonjeru), Verona Sisters (Gulu), Good Counsel Sisters (Mushanga Ankole), Canonesses of St. Augustine (Nabbingo), and Society of The Sacred Heart (Nkozi and Kalisizo) increased the number of institutions and strengthened the teaching personnel through their training programmes. Only two of these missions started outside Buganda area.

Because of the historical concentration of educational facilities (and other Baganda social services and economic activities) Baganda girls had better opportunities and took up education in bigger numbers than the rest. Table 9.9 shows that in 1935 Buganda had over 60% of girls' institutions. Variations were inevitable because of the manner in which formal education was established throughout the country.

Table 9.9: DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE PUPILS BY REGION, 1939

Province	Number of Schools	Number of with Upper Primary Classes	Total Enrolment	Estimated School Population	Enrolment per 1000 of population
Buganda	46	10	3,340	88,000	38
Western	11	3	820	72,000	11
Eastern	12	2	650	124,000	5
Northern	14	1	640	78,000	8
Protectorate Totals	83	16	5,540	362,000	15

Source: Report on the Education of African Women and Girls, 1935. Education Annual Report, Appendix X1, p. 66.

This study does not investigate religion as an access factor but it is used to illustrate further restrictions to girls' education especially for Moslems. Moslems, and non-conformists were at a disadvantage because formal education was conducted at Christian evangelical centres. Many Moslem parents were reluctant to send their children to Christian schools to avoid possible conversion. A few boys managed to "sneak" into Protestant schools but this was more difficult for girls (Kirunda 1976, Carter 1967, de Bunsen 1953, De La Warr 1938). Government was worried about this and planned to start non-denominational schools, against opposition from missionaries (Secretariat File No. 17, 1941), though not with

immediate results. de Bunsen (1953) noted that although Moslems composed at least 10 percent of the population in Buganda area, they were proportionally under-represented in schools. The Commission believed this was due to lack of institutions, and not lack of enthusiasm. They noted that Moslem pupils had to perform better than average to gain entry to Senior Secondary Courses. Through the Uganda Moslem Education Association (formed 1951) progress was made to reach the level of 137 Primary Schools and 7 Junior Schools, including one for girls (Nabisunsa) (Sessional Paper of 1958/59). This means that Moslem girls were at even more disadvantage than other girls. The 1954 Educational Annual Report confirms this deprivation. Government could not yet however, establish a Moslem Girls' Senior Secondary school as the co-educational, non-denominational Makerere College School was deemed sufficient.

The first Moslem girls' Senior Secondary School was established in 1964, when Nabisunsa was thus up-graded. Even for Christian girls, the denomination to which a girl or her parents belonged determined her access to schooling. The existence of a different denominational school near a girl's home made no difference to her educational chances. Religion was a further delaying factor since the policy by government was to give "fifty-fifty" support to both Catholic and Protestant Missions (De La Warr 1937). For example there were protracted discussions by Government and Missions as to where to situate the first girls' Senior Secondary school. (File No. 17.2 - various dates 1938-1939). There is now a deliberate policy by Islamic organisations and NGO's to encourage Moslem girls to attend school and many new private secondary schools exist.

The slow progress of Moslem girls is summarised in table 9.10.

Table 9.10: GIRLS' PRIMARY SCHOOL ENROLMENT LEVELS ON RELIGIOUS BASIS 1947

Religious Group	Enrolment Numbers
Protestants	6,264
Catholics	8,538
Moslems	493

Source: Annual Education Report, 1947, p. 29.

Although the facts above indicate that Baganda girls were luckier to have the first schools within their region, other factors must be taken into account. The existence of high-level boys' schooling was a stimulant to girls' schooling. Chiefs

provided further encouragement. Gateley (1971) points out that traditionally, it was normal for Baganda girls to live outside their homes for training by aunts or other relatives. The idea of boarding school was therefore not so strange. Perhaps low unrefundable bridewealth payments might also have been an influential factor compared to Ankole,. Kigezi, Teso or Karamoja where the charge was prohibitive. Buganda parents would have no anxiety about possible loss of this "wealth". Gateley (1971) believed that the fact that non-Bantu women were less domesticated made them see no urge to go to school, whereas the Buganda saw education as a way of ridding themselves of the subservient position. For Karamoja formal education has actually never been fully accepted as Map 3 and table 10.3 on distribution of institutions illustrate. For example, a report in The New Vision, 5-6-1991 confirmed that five schools were not operating because of lack of pupils. Schools built by NGO's were being used as cattle and goat sheds, markets or beer halls.

(d) The Way to Higher Education for Women

Admission of women to higher education (Makerere College) took place in 1945. In 1938, there were over 100 girls qualified to enter secondary school education but no provisions were made (De La Warr 1938). No girls' school then was at the level of the boys' schools such as Namilyango, Kisubi, Nyakasura or Budo.

The first step to girls' higher education was made in 1933 when girls were admitted to Budo, but the pace was not fast (McGregor 1967). In 1941, three girls of Nkokonjeru sat and passed the Cambridge School Certificate Examination. The next group did not appear until 1944. In 1951, 13 girls passed the School Certificate examination, but the number dropped to 8 in 1953 (compared to 204 boys) (Education Annual Report 1953). In 1959, there were 295 African Senior Secondary School girls (compared to 2819 boys). Girls' schools then consisted of Gayaza, Namagunga and Nabbingo, and girls could attend co-education at Budo, Nabumali, and Makerere College School. (Only Nabumali was outside Buganda -Sessional Paper 1958/59). The report states that government could not afford to set up any new girls' schools.

After a long struggle by women activists, spearheaded by Mary Stuart, wife of the Anglican Archbishop, the first six women entered Makerere College in 1945. The first women's Warden had to travel all over East Africa to search for any qualified women. Only two were found, and the rest were teachers who had to be

persuaded to have a go at it (Graham 1947, Stanton 1969, Macpherson 1964, Furley and Watson 1978). Anxiety was so great that special attention had to be paid to ensure good performance. The curriculum included English, Social Studies, History or Art (taken with men students), and Educational Studies, taken separately (Graham 1947). The experiment seemed to be even more daring than the earlier one of admitting girls at Budo.

As Table 9.11 shows, progress has been slow since then. The total enrolment of 328 students reached in 1968 has only been doubled after 30 years (610 in 1990). The number would perhaps still be between 400-500 but for "positive discrimination" exercised by the University Senate that year (Onyango 1990).

Table 9.11: NUMBER OF AFRICAN GIRLS ADMITTED TO MAKERERE (1945-1968)

Year	Number of Girls Admitted	Year	Number of Girls Admitted
1945	6	1957	9
1946	3	1958	13
1947	3	1959	7
1948	3	1960	9
1949	2	1961	3
1950	6	1962	3
1951	1	1963	10
1952	2	1964	19
1953	3	1965	31
1954	2	1966	32
1955	7	1967	76
1956	5	1968	73

Source: Gateley (1971) Table 25, p. 394

The slow evolution of girls' advancement to higher education, cannot only be described by historical factors - and other barriers must continue to be tackled. Inequalities arising from historical allocation of institutions, differences in economic endowment and development and unequal provision of better quality institutions all combine as major determinants of educational access, as the general discussion of access factors illustrate. The result is better service for certain communities (such

as urban compared to rural). While girls and boys are both affected by such inequalities, girls experience double jeopardy because of other disadvantages. Other factors analysed in this Chapter, and in Chapters 8 and 10 strengthen barriers arising from general basic inequalities.

9.3 NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY

Proposition Number 6

National education policy has not addressed equity issues and one major result of this is the persistent gender inequalities, unfavourable to girls.

This section examines official policy as an access factor at three levels: the administrative policy, including planning and control, the financing system, and the policy specifically geared to girls' education. Chapters 4 and 5 pointed out how state policy lays down the educational structure of a country and sets the framework for schooling. Some aspects of state policy are discussed in Chapter 10 under institutional factors (the unsatisfactory system of subject options, and types of institutions, the short-comings of the higher education sector, gender imbalance in the administrative control of the system, and the inadequate system of career guidance and counselling). The previous section of this chapter has shown how state policy has so far not corrected the regional inequalities in educational opportunity, rural and urban disparities and varying qualities in educational institutions, or the existing inequalities within the women's group. This section therefore synthesises the general policy under the three areas mentioned above.

(a) Educational Administration Policy

The verdict of the most recent Education Policy Review Commission (1989) is that policy decisions have been of an *ad hoc* nature and in some cases based on inaccurate data. The Commission's views can be summed up by their comment on the establishment of secondary schools which were:

> Set up due to political pressure and without taking into account the inequalities among regions, different social groups, or between urban and rural areas; or even economic viability. The pattern shows that the schools are either too many in close proximity or too few in areas of real demand for secondary education (p. 62).

Like many other aspects of education in Uganda, historical developments have to be considered as they shape present policy. One major historical factor illustrated in Chapter 2 is that government was not the initiator of educational institutions and it could therefore not control the system as it saw fit. After Independence, and particularly around 1964, government took bold steps and "secularised" and "detribalised" institutions by declaring most institutions non-denominational and by making many of them national, regional or district institutions (MOE Paper 1990). Table 2.3 shows that Government owns only 67% of the institutions. Government has two major weapons in that it trains all teachers, who work for private institutions on secondment, and also controls the curriculum, examinations, syllabuses etc. (Communication with Commissioner for Education 1992). State hands are however still tied by financial constraints. Even in government institutions, it has already been shown that due to shortage of funds, PTA powers and burdens have increased. One might conclude therefore that the original hesitation by government from being fully involved in the education system encouraged the inequalities (and other short comings) to continue. Carter (1967) summarises the initial official view thus:

> Provided there were enough men to fill essential administrative and technical posts, the educational progress of one tribe and backwardness of another were of little apparent importance when it was assumed that the tribes would develop independently of each other. (p. 97)

After Independence, concern focused on production of high-level manpower to replace departing colonial staff rather than equity issues. The first three Five-Year Development Plans (1960-66, 1966-71, and 1971-1976) were all concerned with development of high level manpower and concentrated of expansion of secondary schools without due regard to other issues (MES, 1989 and Country Paper, 1990, Esanu 1992). Some Primary and technical schools were turned into secondary schools - thus limiting wider access at basic levels (MES, 1989). During the period of the Third Five Year Development Plan, when it was thought that there were too many secondary school leavers, intake into lower Secondary grade was reduced and for the first time, Makerere University intake was based on available places and not on qualified applicants. At that time, that was viewed as a favourable development in maintaining quality when in fact, it was the beginning of limited access through highly selective practices. The Action Programme (1977/78) was a crash programme to bridge the big gap created by the forced departure of Asians and expatriates and was therefore again not concerned with remaining inequalities in the system. The early 1980's saw a large expansion in

schools, teacher training colleges and higher education institutions, but it has already been shown that these were *ad hoc* actions without proper planning. The 1987-91 Rehabilitation and Development Plan has concentrated on repairs, renovations and improvements of primary, secondary and tertiary institutions, rather than innovations. Currently, the government is in the process of restructuring the system on the basis of the EPRC (1989) recommendations, although the actual change is not in place yet.

Uganda's case therefore supports Lungwangwa's (1988) observation that African states have only been concerned with production of manpower rather than eliminating inequalities within their educational systems. Moreover, there has been lack of a strong single central authority, because local governments control primary education, while central government controls upper levels; along with voluntary agencies and private groups (Castle 1963, MES 1989). At higher education level, too many bodies are in control - Ministry of Education, other Ministeries and Local Government. The system therefore has tended to react to immediate and short term requirements, operated by too many bodies. Co-ordination has been difficult and in some cases non-existent EPRC (1989). This leads to neglect of some clients, the disadvantaged, the out-of-school youths and adults. Those facing particular disadvantages like the disabled, or women, cannot be admitted under such circumstances (Kajubi 1978, EPRC 1989).

(b) Educational Finance Policy

Through educational finance policy, the state can hinder or facilitate wider access to educational institutions; for the state has power to make interventions and correct inequalities (Stromoquist 1987 and Fagerlind and Saha 1989). The actual amount of funds available to the state also determines the nature of educational provision (elite versus mass). Because of limited space, this section will consider educational financing at two levels - the actual amount of money spent on education by the state, including comparisons with other services, and the distribution of funds at the various levels of education. Both aspects have equity implications.

Uganda's educational budget has been dwindling. "The education budget of 1988/89 in real terms was only 21.1% of the education budget of 1970/71 level". (MEO Paper, 1990, p. 14). Because of continued increasing budgetary difficulties due to inflation, less and less money has been going to this sector. As Kelly (1991) observed for Zambia, in time of financial constraints education and other social

services are deprived. Unesco (1983e) observed that Uganda's once comparatively high cost education system has become one of Africa's low cost systems. According to a study by ESAURP (cited by EPRC 1989), in 1987 Makerere University had the lowest unit cost per student throughout Eastern and Southern Africa. Uganda's real per capita expenditure on education for 1988/89 has declined to 13% of the 1970/71 levels (MOE Paper 1990). The education percentage share of national development expenditure and recurrent expenditure has fluctuated and declined about 5% in the last decade as table 9.12 shows. Again, Uganda's expenditure on education as percentage of GDP, which averages about 2.7% is lower than the average for the whole of Sub-Saharan Africa (4.4%). The result has been continued transfer of the burden to parents and communities. It also means that parents are more faced with the burden of making investment choices regarding the education of their children.

Table 9.12: UGANDA GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION (1982-1992) (Million Shillings)

YEAR	GDP (Current Prices)	Total Development Expenditure	% age share of education	Total Recurrent Expenditure	% age share of education	Expenditure on Education as % of GDP
1982/83	3,003.0	8.8	5.5	439.0	15.5	2.4
1983/84	4,851.0	165.0	3.7	602.9	21.0	2.7
1984/85	10,668.0	377.9	3.8	1,771.0	15.8	2.8
1985/86	19,499.0	709.5	5.1	4,133.2	12.8	2.9
1986/87	41,910.0	2,237.1	9.2	8,026.5	11.1	2.6
1987/88	118,332.0	9,358.7	2.1	28,197.0	18.2	3.1
1988/89	NA	12,072.9	3.7	58,350.7	15.8	NA
1989/90	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA
1990/91	209,135.0	20,088.0	7.6	127,264.0	15.2	NA
1991/92	418,960.8	33,449.3	5.2	199,900.2	14.6	NA

Source: Planning Unit, Ministry of Education, Kampala, 1992.

The second aspect of financing education which limits equitable access to higher education is the relative amount of funds spent at the various levels of education. More funds are spent at higher education than at the lower levels. Table 9.13 shows that Makerere University's recurrent expenditure is very high, in relation to the secondary and primary sectors, particularly in view of the fact that higher education caters for only a very small minority. The money spent on Makerere is six times more than that of the rest of the higher education sector. The difference is also very apparent when unit costs by level and type of education are compared. Government spends 183 times more on one Makerere University student than a primary school pupil (Table 9.14).

Table 9.13: RECURRENT EXPENDITURE ON LEVEL/TYPE OF EDUCATION FOR THE YEARS 1988/89, 1989/90 AND 1990/91 (In million shillings)

Sector	Actual 1988-89	% of Total	Approved 1989-90	% of Total	Estimated 1990-91*	% of Total
MOE Headquarters	230.2	2.3	723.0	4.4	8,675.0	35.2
School Inspectorate	341.4	3.4	672.2	4.0	996.0	4.0
Teacher Training	970.6	9.7	2,320.7	14.0	2,584.0	10.5
Schools and Colleges	78.4	0.8	299.4	1.8	145.1	0.6
Primary Education	3,263.4	32.8	4,738.5	28.6	1,080.1	4.4
Secondary Education	2,543.7	25.6	2,676.2	16.2	2,800.4	11.4
Tech./Com. Education	888.5	8.9	1,879.5	11.3	1,794.9	7.3
Higher Education	252.1	2.5	651.8	3.9	591.4	2.4
Teaching Service Commission	71.6	0.7	240.2	1.5	662.9	2.7
MOE Total	8,629.9	86.7	14,201.5	85.7	19,329.9	78.5
Makerere University	1,315.2	13.2	2,363.1	14.3	3,570.7	14.5
Min. of Local Govt.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total for	9,955.1	99.9	16,564.6	100.0	24,660.5	100.1

Source: Draft Estimates of Recurrent Expenditure 1990/91 (from White Paper, 1992, p.244).

*In 1990/91 budget, all staff salaries have been included under 'Headquarters', while in the previous years these were distributed over the different Programmes e.g. Schools and Colleges, Inspectorate, Teacher Training, Primary Education, etc.

Table 9.14: UNIT COSTS BY LEVEL/TYPE OF EDUCATION, 1988/89

Level/Type	Recurrent Expenditure (in Ush million)		Enrolment	Unit Costs	
	Total	%		Total	%
Primary	3,263.4	30.5	2,532,800	1,288	1
Secondary	3,274.4	30.6	238,467	13,731	11
Primary Teacher Training	590.3	5.5	15,166	38,923	30
Teacher Education	334.0	3.2	6,941	48,120	37
Makerere University	1,315.2	12.3	5,565	236,334	183
TOTAL	10,685.5	100.0			

N.B.

* Unit costs are recurrent costs per student.
* Unit Cost Ratio is recurrent cost per student of a given level divided by that of a primary school pupil.
* Technical Education refers to Technical School and Technical Institutes.
* Category "Other" recurrent expenditures includes: Headquarters, inspectorate, higher education other than Makerere University, secondary and higher teacher training, and higher technical education.

Source: Ministry of Eduation and Unesco Mission estimates (From Khan 1991, p.20).

Since higher education is "free", and not primary or secondary school education, it has become clear that the poor are actually subsidising the education of the rich. At lower levels, the rich are able to get better quality education and therefore sail through to higher education, while the poor will not be able to compete for the limited places at higher levels. They will have received lower quality education only to approach a free sector which cannot expand mainly because of high unit costs (EPRC 1989, MOE Paper 1990, Kajubi 1991b). The state which is supposed to provide education as a service cannot do this properly because, on the one hand it lacks adequate funds while on the other hand the scarce funds available are not equitably spent.

Evidence in Appendix 6.7 shows that one reason for the higher unit costs at higher levels is that a lot of funds are spent on non-pedagogical items (EPRC 1989, MOE Paper 1990, Unesco Commission 1990). This limits chances of widening access as expansion cannot be undertaken. Although recently dire lack of funds has forced government to terminate some student allowances, many of them still

remain. This is also not to mention the full board and lodging bill of all such institutions and government-aided secondary school institutions. The financial gap this creates is illustrated by government contribution of shs 8,149 per pupil at secondary school level as compared to shs. 130 at the primary school level (EPRC, 1989). It can be argued that free education, food and accommodation and personal allowances in the tertiary sector are a form of subsidies by the poor to the rich parents (Kajubi 1991b, p. 325).

Because of budgetary constraints and the funding system that favours higher education, Uganda is at present unable to provide good quality secondary schooling (Kanyike The New Vision, 15-8-1990). This means that the pool of higher education applicants is limited to a few. Girls, who are constrained by other factors, but could have benefited from better quality education at the level are further deprived.

(c) Official Policy Towards Women's Education

When the Colonial Government took charge of national education in Uganda, it was anxious to regulate the pace of girls' education, lest it led to unwanted social upheavals. Cautious steps had to be taken. The 1935 Annual Report expressed this worry. It opposed the prevailing urge then that higher academic education for girls should be encouraged and that homecrafts and infant welfare could be reserved for the less progressive. "THIS IS AN INVERSION OF VALUES, WHICH IN THEIR OWN INTERESTS SHOULD SURELY BE RESISTED", the report concluded (p. 27) (own emphasis). As demonstrated under institutional factors, government did not initially plan for women to enter higher education. Mary Stuart, one of the strongest promoters of women's higher education recalls how European administrators were not keen on girls entering higher education (cited by Stanton, 1969). Stanton also narrates how the first Warden of the Women's Hall of Residence had to put up with hostility from the Principal, when women were first admitted to Makerere College. Women students were not allowed in the Students' Junior Common Room and were for a while barred from taking part in the activities of the Students' Guild.

Governments' hesitation to allow women to enter higher education went beyond Makerere College. The 1952 Education Annual Report, for instance, warned against the development of unqualified women going to study overseas, and evidence shows that this discouragement was put into practice (e.g. Secretariat Minute File No. SS66, July 27, 1935). When education of girls was still

being financed separately from that of boys, government spent less money on girls. In 1932, £9,700 was spent on girls' education and £22,950 on that of boys. In 1937, £13,290 for girls against £23,984 for boys was spent (Carter, 1967) - thus emphasising the value placed on each group.

But how about specific planning for women's education in general, since this would pave the way to women entering higher education? In the beginning there was a clear indication of what girls were expected to gain from formal education, despite the shortcomings summarised in Chapter 10. The appointment of an Inspector of Schools in charge of Women's Education in 1933 also showed some interest. However, in 1938, when a Makerere Commission recommended the appointment of a Director of Women's Education, this was opposed by the Legislative Council on the grounds that it would create a dual system of education (Secretariat File No.S.17 Minute dated 9-11-1938). This proposal would have strengthened the case for women's education and probably led to wider access than is seen today. There has therefore since then never been any unit specifically concerned with women's education. The current thinking upholds this approach. The system operates as if there is no gender inequality in educational opportunities. The researcher was informed by the Deputy Commissioner for Education that government cannot encourage separate planning for girls (1992). Lack of a body specifically handling women's education may partially explain why strong recommendations by the various commissions to promote women's education are not usually followed by similar enthusiasm expressed in such reports (De La Warr 1937, de Bunsen 1953, Castle 1963). With regard to higher education, women's input into policy matters has not been officially solicited. For example while periodic Commissions/Committees to review general education have had at least one female member (de Bunsen 1953, Castle 1963, Kajubi 1978, EPRC 1989), those specifically dealing with higher education have had no female member (De La Warr 1937, Working Party on Higher Education 1955 and 1969, Visitation Committees to Makerere University 1970 and 1987). Only one of these higher education reports (De La Warr) paid attention to women's education. Could this be interpreted that women are not really expected to participate in higher education? Another indicator of an indifferent official attitude towards women's participation in higher education is reflected in the residential accommodation provided. This issue is discussed further in the next Chapter. Just for emphasis, Makerere's case can be given. As early as 1938, money was voted for by local authorities to build a women's hostel at Makerere, but the offer was never taken up (Stanton 1969). The first women students had to live in an adapted building (Macpherson 1964). The architecture of the first hall of residence

shows the expectations of the planners (Mpanga 1987). Built for a maximum of 40 women, the first Hall of Residence was entered in 1953. By 1958, extensions had to be made as there were 90 women then. The numbers rose faster in the early 1960's and a third extension had to be made and by the end of the 1960's a new hall had to be built (Stanton 1969).

Lack of deliberate effort to draw more girls into higher education can also be demonstrated by the numbers of women who receive scholarships to take up courses outside Uganda. Most of such scholarships are given by friendly countries but actual selection is carried out by an official committee at the Ministry of Education (Of late the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development administers many such scholarships, particularly for Civil Servants, but the MOE is chosen here for illustration. Donor countries impose their own conditions like age limit (generally under 25 for first degree, and under 35 for second degree), which are discriminatory to women since this is their median child bearing period. Information received from an official of the higher education section at the MOE is that when there is a choice, government will prefer to send students for courses in Science and Technology - and female participation here is very limited. There are other discriminatory regulations like women not being allowed to marry aliens, when they go abroad for study on scholarships, although this is not an initial barrier in obtaining a scholarship. It was pointed out that women applicants are fewer, but currently, some donors (not Uganda government) insist that a fraction of scholarships be given to women. The Uganda government's own scheme of scholarships was terminated in the mid 1980's due to lack of funds - thus reducing chances further. A consideration of all the factors above, and lack of a specific device to enlarge the female clientele is reflected in table 9.15 which shows that even with the more positive outlook towards gender balance of the 1980's the female percentage of total scholarship recipients for 1981-1990 remains at 10% only.

Table 9.15: UGANDAN STUDENTS WHO RECEIVED SCHOLARSHIPS TO STUDY ABROAD FOR DEGREES COURSES 1981/1990

Course Category	Postgraduates			Undergraduates		
	Total	Female	% Female	Total	Female	% Female
Arts	74	26	35	495	125	25
Sciences	214	34	16	809	114	14
Total	288	60	21	1304	239	18

Note: Female % of total recepients = 19.

Source: Ministry of Education Higher Education Section, 1991.

From time to time some positive discrimination steps are taken, but not in a consistent manner. For example in 1950 the West Nile and Mbale Regions reserved 25% of primary school places for girls (1951 Education Annual Report). The 1955 Education Annual Report also recorded that girls' fees had been made lower than those of boys, and many local authorities were offering generous bursaries to girls. Castle (1963) recommended special "Catch-up" schemes for areas with lower female enrolments. These included provision of more boarding schools, free primary schooling for all, free meals and special allowances for teachers for Karamoja. For Kigezi and Ankole areas, more co-educational schools and more bursaries for girls were recommended. In Sebei, the provision of an all weather road was seen as vital as the area was isolated. Since the 1970s (it was not possible to find out exact year) for secondary school intake, girls are admitted at a lower pass levels than the boys in order to increase the numbers. This policy makes little difference. For instance, while boys' admission may stop at 5 points, girls' will be raised to 6 points. The unwritten rule of not exceeding a third of admissions for females, or the handy excuse of lack of accommodation will still rule girls out from the best co-educational boarding schools. In any case, this scheme is not popular with headteachers, two of whom informed the researcher that it had been observed to be a demotivating factor in the important initial stages of secondary schooling.

There is no specific national policy in place to ensure that girls' persist to higher education. Only Makerere University is trying out a scheme on a five-year trial basis. Since 1990, a weight of 1.5 is added to the total weighting offered by every eligible woman. So far there has been more opposition than support for this scheme in the mass media. There are claims that it makes girls lose confidence and motivation (Lugalambi - The Weekly Topic, 25-10-1991). That it lowers standards (Waibale, The Weekly Topic, 24-8-1990) and Nsiime (The New Vision, 23-10-1991). It is unfair to the boys (University student, The New Vision, 3-10-1990). It confirms girls' academic inferiority (Mugyenyi, The New Vision, 18-10-90) etc. See Onyango (1990 and 1991) for a fuller version of the scheme. The EPRC (1989) observes that at tertiary level girls' education is often very good and they do not require any special treatment so far as admissions are concerned (p. 113). Although the Commission recommends general ways through which girls' enrolment can be encouraged (more girls' schools, gender-balance in management of schools, more recruitment into technical education and better physical facilities), follow-up action by Government was still awaited at the time of writing. Ad hoc intermittent interventions outlined above have not been enough to improve girls' access to higher education.

Summary

This Chapter has demonstrated that there are societal factors which exert a strong negative effect on women's advancement to higher education. Kinship, lineage and inheritance patterns place more importance on the male than the female child, overemphasis on marriage limits women's horizons of life and does not render higher education essential to their lives, particularly so in the eyes of society at large. Because women are destined to marry and play roles of wives and mothers, higher education appears irrelevant. In any case, that education is seen to benefit the families into which they will marry and not the parents who will have spent money on their education. Therefore fathers must ensure that bridewealth is extracted in compensation for loss of services, and if necessary girls can be withdrawn from school for the purpose. The study showed that bridewealth payment still has a lot of societal support. Even in the fewer cases where high bridewealth is not the basic drive, parents must ensure that their daughters get into secure marriages, in line with societal expectations. As a result early marriages are encouraged or arranged, and Chapter 3 illustrated societal support for such early marriages. Because of the above expectations, teenage pregnancies, which occur in worrying numbers, have to be avoided and one way of doing this is to marry off girls early. All this shows that the woman is treated as an investment

good and her worth is weighed according to expected returns, but not in the way that "returns" are traditionally measured in rate of return studies. The paid employment sector, in which women play minor roles as managers, decision-makers etc., influences societal attitudes and expectations. Women are identified with occupations which do not require higher education and therefore paid employment does not act as an incentive to parents to invest more in women's education. The family/marriage-related factors combine to place a lower premium on females when the educational investment equation is worked out. At best, their educational needs are limited to basic levels. Their lower status, portrayed in Chapter 3, and parental attitudes, illustrated in Chapter 8 reflect this.

This Chapter has also demonstrated the existence of inequalities in regional distribution of natural resources; uneven development and consequently unequal educational opportunities. It has also demonstrated that economically-better off areas were served with more and better educational institutions, perhaps applying the *Matthew Factor* of "giving more to those who already have". In the better served areas, parents are in a better position to finance their children's education and gaps between regions, rural and urban areas go on increasing. Girls, who face other disadvantages lose more chances in a system which does not take into account such inequalities. The pool of girls' from which higher education could draw is thus reduced. It cannot draw girls from all corners of the country since some areas are less well served.

National official policy has been found to be generally silent on the question of correcting inequalities; gender inequalities have remained as a factor only to be mentioned in official reports. The situation is made worse when, through declining financial state contributions, more and more of the educational burden falls on parents. This leads to further assessment of whether to invest in girls' or boys' education. In this elitist system where only higher education is free, by higher educational stage, more girls have been filtered out of the system because economic constraints accelerate other factors which short-change girls. The state therefore seems to agree with parents and society that for many girls, basic education will suffice, and higher education is regarded as consumption rather than investment. This view permeates not only the social attitudes revealed in this chapter, the family attitudes discussed in Chapter 8, but also helps to determine the institutional characteristics which are the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 10:
INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS AND FACTORS

Chapter 5 illustrates how many aspects of educational institutions can hinder advancement of women's schooling. In this study, five are examined. They include inadequacy of subject offerings and options, ineffective types of institutions, the restrictive nature of the education system, particularly at higher education, lack of appropriate role models within the system, and lack of careers guidance and counselling for girls. Each of these aspects is discussed under the relevant proposition and assessed through analysis of Uganda-based literature, official documents, and fieldwork data.

10.1 SUBJECT COMBINATIONS/OPTION ARRANGMENTS

Proposition No. 7

Subject combinations/option arrangements at secondary school level limit girls' choices more than those of boys, thereby reducing their chances to enter the variety of higher education institutions.

Chapter 5 revealed how subject stereotypes can be created and accepted by society, (the process of creating "boy's" or "girl's" subjects), and how the grouping of such subjects may become an additional barrier. This study analyses this process by assessing the original objectives and evolution of girls' education in Uganda and later in this section by analysing current options available to girls. Right from the start when Christian Missionaries established girls' education and when the Colonial Government took over charge, the objectives and consequently the curriculum, designed for the purpose, were too narrowly defined to provide a varied type of education. The official stand was clearly stated by Robertson (1937) the first woman Inspector or Schools:

> Girls should be trained to be efficient housewives and mothers - those who do not marry off immediately will be child nurses, needle women or school matrons. (Education Annual Report 1935, p. 70).

After the establishment of boys' schools, it soon became apparent that educated boys would need educated spouses. As the De La Warr Report (1937) puts it, changed men needed changed wives. The general curriculum consisted of the "three R's" and mat-making, basket-making, simple sewing and hygiene (Education

Annual Report 1929). In the first girls' boarding school, Gayaza, a more "advanced" curriculum was followed, consisting of cultivation, handiwork, writing, reading, arithmetic and geography (Gateley 1971). When Government became involved (1925) the same line was strengthened. Subsequent education annual reports record progress made in bringing girls' education more into relationship with home (1930 Report). The 1927 Report describes how courses for brides were much appreciated by prospective husbands. The 1929 Report records the establishment of special domestic science schools for Chiefs' daughters at Nkokonjeru (Catholic) and Buloba (Protestant). The 1934 Report aspired to raising courses in domestic economy to diploma level in future. The De La Warr Commission (1937) was concerned with the need to train girls as home-makers and recommended the establishment of a national organising Instructress in Domestic Science. This type of education was thought to be realistic because those who could not go higher up the system would easily become housemaids, domestic servants, high level "ayahs" (baby minders) or sewing "fundi" (local tailors) (1934 Annual Report). In 1957 Vocational Centres were established all over the country to offer courses in homecraft, cookery, needlework, handiwork and allied subjects, English and Arithmetic. Graduates would become school matrons, dress makers or institutional cooks (Education Circular Letter No. 9 1957). The aim of fitting girls for marriage and motherhood and making literary work subservient to practical work was stressed in the Report on Girls' Education in East Africa (1958).

Baganda parents (where formal education started) were not happy about this type of education. They preferred more marketable skills for their daughters (Gateley 1971). The de Bunsen Committee (1953) which reviewed African education in Uganda voiced misgivings about a system centred on homecraft at the expense of other skills required for a fuller life. Perhaps the light-hearted attitude concerning the appropriate curriculum for girls can be explained by the vague and varied nomenclature given to this home-based educational programme: **home craft; mother craft; housewifery; domestic science; domestic economy; child nursing, cookery, needlework, dressmaking and simply "allied" or "kindred" subjects; and lately, home economics or home management.** When the education system was again officially reviewed in 1963 (Castle Report) the philosophy had not changed.

> "As most girls will eventually become wives and mothers in a largely rural community, that would be a futile education that failed to prepare them for the duties of home-making". p. 68.

The Commission however, raised aspirations since it recommended training for girls to become typists, receptionists, caterers, auxiliary social workers, dress designers etc.

Although the immediate aim of starting girls' schools at the turn of the century was "to bridge the intellectual gap" between Hattersley's boys and their future spouses (Stanton 1969, Wandira 1972), the type of education and the pace at which this spread throughout the country was unsatisfactory. (C W Hattersley was responsible for the initial establishment of primary schools and teacher training centres of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in Uganda). Commenting on the small elite class of highly trained Makerere College men, Carr-Saunders (1961) believed that it was inevitable that such men be isolated by their own attainments, interests and mode of life that was remote from their families and sometimes even from their wives. Indeed Okot p'Bitek (1966) confirms this gap between Lawino and Ocol, her Makerere-trained husband. The curriculum on offer to the girls could not possibly have bridged the intellectual gap, and since the girls are still under-represented at all levels of education, that gap has dragged on into the 1990's. The preparation of girls for duties confined to the home constitutes the initial barrier to their access to higher education.

The previous emphasis on the home changed after attainment of Independence (1962). Emphasis has since been on production of high level manpower. Since 1962 education has become more academic, while separate planning for girls' education has vanished. The present system of education is centred on passing examinations in order to enter the next level (discussed further below). Homecraft and allied subjects are no longer offered at primary level, and have become optional at secondary level.

This study analyses current subject options available to girls in order to unearth any disadvantages this may present. Further study of the Uganda National Examinations Board (UNEB) records and regulations (shown in Tables 10.1-10.2 and Appendix 4(B) and 4(C)) reveals short-comings at secondary school level. For the Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE), all candidates must sit a minimum of eight subjects, including English Language (Group I) and at least one subject chosen from Group II (Humanities), Group III (Mathematics) and Group IV (Sciences) (UNEB Regulations and Syllabus for UCE 1986-90) (Appendix 4(B)). The other groups constitute optional choices. Similarly, at Advanced Level (UACE), there is a list of approved subjects from which students have to choose at least three subjects (Appendix 4(C)). These restrictions affect both girls and boys,

but here emphasis is laid on those aspects which are more disadvantageous to girls.

(i) Bio-science subjects are grouped under "cultural subjects" and this denies them an 'academic' influence (Owor 1987). Such subjects, for example Health Science or Home Management tend to be regarded as girls' subjects and table 10.1 illustrates this. They also terminate at O-Level at table 10.2 shows.

(ii) Many of the technical and applied Science subjects are rarely offered in girls' schools. In mixed schools, subjects like Woodwork or Metal work are regarded as alternatives to Home Economics (Owor 1987).

(iii) Business Studies subjects originally devised for girls, are not offered at Advanced Level. (Tables 10.1 and 10.2). At the same time, they are not available in many girls' schools as they require a major financial input for typewriters, stationery, and above all, qualified teachers. The UCE examination results (table 10.1) shows that these subjects tend to be poorly done. Failure rate for Shorthand is often above 50%. In 1981, all candidates failed! For Typewriting and Office Practice, average failure rate is around 30%. Total number of candidates for all three subjects is small - never reaching one hundred for Shorthand or rarely exceeding three hundred for the other two subjects. Such offerings block girls' chances of concentrating on academic work and yet the standards attained cannot lead to immediate meaningful employment.

(iv) The grouping is so lax that it is possible to offer purely "Arts" subjects as opposed to "Science", e.g. History, Geography, Mathematics, General Science (Owor 1987). This encourages girls to continue choosing Arts subjects, thus further lessening their opportunities for entering science-based and technical courses at higher education level. For example in the UCE results (table 10.1) girls are about half the total number of candidates in Mathematics, General Science and Biology. They make less than one third of Physics or Chemistry. Table 10.2 shows that the number of girls who take New Mathematics at A-Level are negligible compared to boys. Similarly fewer girls than boys offer Physics, Chemistry or Biology at A-level.

Table 10.1: RELATIVE PERFORMANCE OF MALE AND FEMALE CANDIDATES – UGANDA CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION (UCE)

Subject	1981				1982				1984*				1985				1986			
	Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
English Language	13,913	5,602	31.5	38.9	14,494	6,305	33.0	36.1	18,967	9,139	33.4	39.4	21,756	10,292	30.7	35.6	22,651	11,236	28.1	29.1
Literature in English	3,650	2,139	41.3	35.8	3,520	2,174	35.1	36.5	3,722	2,419	38.2	38.2	3,851	2,661	36.5	32.3	3,714	2,478	47.0	46.1
Christ. Rel. Educ. (I)	2,967	1,553	36.6	41.9	3,499	1,880	26.0	28.8	5,540	3,452	38.8	44.4	6,694	4,306	46.1	47.9	8,027	5,180	40.3	44.8
Christ. Rel. Educ. (II)	3,440	1,175	37.7	41.3	—	1,359	—	41.0	3,919	1,730	36.0	41.0	4,367	1,846	30.3	38.1	3,712	1,738	33.8	39.3
Islamic Rel. Educ.	91	66	51.6	53.1	109	61	49.6	39.4	214	133	33.2	45.9	268	165	44.8	52.7	333	223	36.7	46.2
History	9,492	3,911	36.5	46.7	10,564	4,723	35.3	48.2	14,753	7,373	38.1	51.2	17,785	8,662	36.6	46.9	18,787	9,711	33.7	45.6
Geography	13,268	5,310	27.5	48.4	14,128	6,130	22.9	41.4	18,720	8,996	22.1	43.2	21,526	10,167	19.2	37.7	22,547	11,084	18.1	33.6
Commerce	11,068	4,040	23.0	38.7	11,824	5,021	42.4	62.6	16,136	7,640	43.2	64.6	18,315	8,514	41.3	59.3	19,567	9,545	32.4	45.8
Latin	83	—	67.5	—	110	—	30.0	—	142	—	66.2	—	165	—	58.8	—	198	—	62.2	—
German	42	14	2.4	14.3	45	22	8.9	18.2	51	23	19.6	30.4	46	14	19.6	21.4	51	30	5.9	26.7
French	469	117	27.1	47.5	483	195	31.9	40.0	484	252	37.0	48.4	439	240	38.4	46.2	370	212	29.2	40.6
Luganda	1,405	801	33.9	30.9	1,125	715	25.9	24.1	1,231	—	22.2		1,502	961	21.9	17.5	1,533	1,194	27.1	23.6
Kiswahili	29	6	17.3	50.0	23	2	53.8	100	24	884	58.3	21.6	14	1	42.9	100	7	2	57.2	100
Maths (B)	1,023	323	69.2	90.4	95.7	36.0	85.4	93.7	—	5	—	80.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maths (S)	12,657	5,231	54.1	73.3	13,270	5,867	53.8	71.9	18,714	9,018	54.2	763	21,204	9,983	55.3	77.2	22,309	10,991	47.0	68.5
Additional Maths	101	7	21.8	14.3	104	1	50.0	100	—	—	—	—	34	—	26.5	—	77	—	48.1	—
General Science	224	98	33.9	62.3	210	116	34.8	56.1	653	290	24.6	53.1	995	497	42.4	57.3	922	616	31.1	51.2
Agriculture	2,887	1,045	22.1	34.3	2,829	1,151	22.8	34.5	5,883	2,520	22.1	45.4	9,215	4,050	41.9	57.4	11,088	4,869	27.4	47.0
Physics	524	53	26.7	56.6	523	79	41.5	79.8	10,961	4,004	26.5	50.4	11,207	3,812	31.8	54.6	11,038	3,993	24.1	43.2
SSP Physics	156	—	25.0	—	1.68	6	32.2	83.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Chemistry	518	56	37.7	60.8	540	76	52.8	81.6	12,511	5,387	41.3	60.5	13,266	5,600	41.3	58.5	13,455	5,832	39.5	53.5
SSP Chemistry	160	—	18.8	—	163	4	21.5	50.6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Biology	9,971	4,201	20.1	31.9	10,961	5,031	21.0	36.6	16,195	7,761	23.6	38.9	18,609	8,945	29.5	45.3	15,364	7,635	30.9	45.5
SSP Biology	2,164	769	27.1	43.9	1,670	616	22.9	34.3	315	174	30.8	27.6	6	28	31.1	8.6	4,544	2,135	24.6	39.2
Physical Science	8,932	3,281	34.6	49.6	9,745	3,708	35.1	52.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SSP Phys-w-SSPChem	1,161	567	32.7	51.4	917	468	36.4	44.1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Art	31,60	1,430	9.6	12.8	2,881	1,396	8.5	12.3	2,547	1,646	7.5	13.9	2,751	1,485	13.2	25.4	2,607	1,515	7.6	10.2
Music	25	46	36.0	28.3	22	47	31.9	12.8	21	42	19.0	7.1	9	47	11.1	6..4	21	54	38.1	16.7
Health Science	2,877	1,038	30.1	53.1	3,094	1,179	26.6	50.4	3,709	1,853	29.4	54.8	3,882	1,910	38.7	55.7	3,652	1,908	43.0	59.0
Clothing & Textiles	1	89	0.0	29.3	3	59	33.4	39.3	—	70	—	38.6	—	85	—	27.1	—	66	—	21.3
Foods & Nutrition	5	292	40.0	28.8	—	243	—	24.7	1	144	0.0	22.2	4	147	0	33.3	—	153	—	21.6
Home Management	6	351	0.0	14.6	—	410	—	26.9	1	393	0.0	11.7	5	309	60.0	17.5	2	249	50.	10.5
Woodwork	374	—	21.4	—	357	—	50.2	—	180	—	36.7	—	—	—	—	—	210	—	88.1	—
Geom. & Mec. Draw.	430	6	53.7	83.4	39.6	4	54.3	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 10.1 (contd): RELATIVE PERFORMANCE OF MALE AND FEMALE CANDIDATES – UGANDA CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION (UCE)

Subject	1981				1982				1984*				1985				1986			
	Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Metalwork	110	—	40.0	—	103	1	47.6	0.0	55	—	18.2	—	39	—	30.8	—	47	—	34.1	—
Building Const.	22	—	0.0	—	19	—	15.8	—	45	—	0.0	—	51	—	7.8	—	41	—	4.9	—
Eng. Work. Prac.	31	—	6.5	—	25	—	20.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Geom. & Build. Draw	83	—	38.6	—	73	—	53.5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Metalwork Eng.	7	—	28.6	—	19	—	63.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Technical Draw.	44	—	81.9	—	58	1	60.4	100	—	—	—	—	199	—	31.7	—	364	20	64.3	95.0
Princ. of Accounts	2,411	746	48.0	59.7	2,576	867	38.8	47.4	3,001	1,318	43.2	54.2	3,499	1,487	45.7	59.0	3,715	1,967	62.9	72.3
Shorthand	1	11	100	100	—	21	—	81.0	1	13	100	61.5	—	19	—	42.1	5	48	40.0	31.3
Office Pract.	64	228	42.2	32.1	31	265	16.2	25.0	189	365	43.4	47.4	216	377	30.6	41.1	200	482	53.5	49.1
Typewriting	162	223	27.8	35.0	238	354	32.0	43.5	38	235	55.3	56.2		51	30.8	37.0	16	264	37.5	32.2
Electricity & Electronics	—	—	—	—	26	3	65.4	100	43	—	37.2	—	—	—	—	—	40	—	17.5	—
Political Education	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	585	565	43.8	69.7	2,013	848	43.6	59.8	2,569	1,092	39.4	59.5
Power & Energy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	32	—	25.0	—	—	—	—	—	25	1	60.0	100

Source: Compiled by Researcher from UNEB Annual Reports for the above respective years.

*Data not available for consecutive years.

Table 10.2: RELATIVE PERFORMANCE OF MALE AND FEMALE CANDIDATES — UGANDA ADVANCED CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION (UACE)

Subject	1984*				1986				1987				1989			
	Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed		Total No. of Cands.		% Failed	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
General Paper	5,591	1,500	58.2	46.0	7,015	2,039	53.3	45.4	7,755	2,343	28.6	31.3	10,022	3,226	9.9	7.8
History	1,831	667	21.1	21.3	2,644	921	17.8	18.6	3,034	1,123	16.3	16.1	4,564	1,185	23.8	16.4
Economics	3,046	891	29.1	29.3	4,104	1,362	17.9	19.7	4,883	1,600	14.7	16.3	7,976	1,610	27.9	28.8
Islamic Rel. Education	19	—	0.0	—	48	13	10.5	0.0	80	28	16.3	39.3	138	26	26.8	23.0
Christian Rel. Education	444	239	20.4	10.9	947	393	12.2	9.4	1,165	610	18.2	13.7	2,056	663	6.5	5.8
Geography	3,159	868	11.2	8.3	4,286	1,442	15.0	14.8	4,831	1,539	13.3	14.5	7,381	1,533	18.3	15.6
Literature in English	847	532	5.4	4.4	1,230	798	9.3	5.7	1,365	838	11.3	8.0	1,516	624	15.6	7.2
Kiswahili	1	—	0.0	—	2	—	0.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
French	77	16	5.2	6.3	68	34	10.3	8.8	77	37	3.9	8.2	744	26	14.5	7.6
German	5	7	0.0	0.0	5	—	40.0	—	8	4	0.0	0.0	—	—	—	—
Latin	—	—	—	—	1	—	0.0	—	8	—	37.5	—	—	—	—	—
Luganda	94	28	8.5	10.8	158	55	5.7	0.0	247	106	3.7	2.9	7,910	210	3.5	7.1
Pure Maths	4	—	50.0	—	12	1	66.7	100	12	1	100	100	77	3	50.5	100
Maths (New)	—	—	—	—	1,138	114	45.3	51.7	1,568	149	49.3	56.4	2,787	215	46.2	44.1
Applied Maths	4	—	40.0	—	6	—	66.7	—	7	—	57.2	—	—	—	—	—
Further Maths	4	—	75.0	—	3	289	33.3	72.7	7	—	85.8	—	11	—	63.6	—
Sub. Maths (New)	16	—	100	—	—	—	—	—	1,120	328	80.0	69.9	1,417	250	38.3	38.0
Maths Alt. S.	49	17	46.9	29.5	1,115	240	75.6	366	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Physics	1,833	292	27.4	20.3	1,900	240	34.4	26.6	1,892	283	22.4	15.7	2,083	240	19.1	15.0
Agric. Princ. & Pract.	54	6	3.3	0.0	50	11	10.0	36.6	39	3	7.7	33.4	40	2	38.8	100
Chemistry	2,228	400	33.3	25.0	2,424	373	37.3	29.8	2,281	375	37.6	26.7	2,370	311	24.3	18.3
Biology	1,782	162	11.5	15.0	1,912	347	12.4	8.1	1,669	351	12.8	15.4	1,600	281	17.7	14.9
Art	231	97	3.0	2.1	318	105	0.0	0.0	335	147	3.3	4.8	427	196	0.2	7.7
Music	2	5	0.0	0.0	10	8	30.0	12.5	4	11	25.0	0.0	4	4	0.0	0.0
Food & Nutrition	—	4	—	0.0	—	4	—	0.0	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Geom. & Mech. Drawing	11	—	27.3	—	3	—	0.0	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	0.0	—
Home Management	—	145	—	28.8	—	153	—	21.6	—	289	—	23.5	—	249	—	19.7
Woodwork	180	—	36.7	—	210	—	88.1	—	153	—	—	96.7	147	—	95.9	—

* Data not available for consecutive years.

Source: UNEB Annual Reports (1986 & 1987, & Internal UNEB Statistics).

(v) It is officially accepted that schools are of different quality and grade, although official lists will not classify them as such. "Official curriculum is only a mere guideline to schools since facilities, equipment and personnel do not cater for the necessary requirements" (EPRC 1989 p. 63). Discussions by the researcher with UNEB officials confirmed this. Schools with less facilities are advised by the Inspectorate to offer less practical subjects, like General Science instead of Physics, Chemistry and Biology. Many of the newer girls' schools fall into this category, indicating a further obstacle.

(vi) Appendix 6.8, showing subjects available at each sample school illustrates that the choice is not as wide as it appears from the list of approved subjects (Appendices 4(B) and 4(C)). There is a common cluster of subjects for all schools. At O-Level 10 out of a possible 37 subjects were not taught at any of the 16 schools. At A-Level, the average number of subjects was 10, and the restrictions are tighter here because of the Science/Arts divide and the subject combinations set by higher education institutions. Choices for girls are limited by actual number of subjects available.

The low participation rates of girls in science and technology subjects and courses illustrate another barrier arising from curriculum organisation and related issues. The results of UCE and UACE (tables 10.1 and 10.2) have already shown that fewer girls take science subjects and perform less well than boys. Enrolment in science-based courses within sample higher education institutions, confirm this tendency. At the Uganda Technical College, Elgon, women form 3% of total enrolment (Appendix 6.9), at UPK, an average of 6% (Appendix 6.10) at Bukalasa, 21% (Appendix 6.11) and 21% of Science courses of ITEK (Appendix 6.12). At Makerere University the proportion of women ranges from 3% in Engineering, 12% for Science Teacher Trainees, 16% of pure Science undergraduates, to the highest proportion in medicine of 27% (Appendix 6.13).

A summary of recent findings in Musoke's (1992) annotated bibliography shows that no comprehensive study has been done yet to explain these low female rates. Most studies have addressed performance in one subject only (Kakooza 1977 on O-Level Mathematics, Omara 1987 on A-Level Chemistry, Amodoi 1989, on O-Level Agriculture, Angari 1989 on O-Level Physics etc., with limited samples). Muranga (1991) assessed overall boys' and girls' performance in all science

subjects at O- and A-Levels, but her sample was limited to the best performing schools only, and could not therefore have been able to capture all the reasons why girls' performance was worse than that of boys. The studies so far indicate that girls are discouraged by teachers and parents, facilities for study are limited, with fewer girls' schools offering these subjects than boys' schools, and social conditioning is an influential factor. What seems to have gone unnoticed so far is the fact that even official policy has never been encouraging. A revolutionary break from the home-based curriculum has not been attempted.

This study has also assembled evidence to show that the virtual absence of women in technical education deprives them of an important avenue to higher education. Technical education has generally been neglected (Maloba 1991a), but for girls this type of education did not even arise in the minds of the planners. It was not until the late 1950's that the Kampala Technical Institute (KTI) admitted girls for dressmaking. Currently very few technical institutions admit girls. In 1989, of the 52 government aided technical schools/institutes or colleges, only 11 offered facilities for girls, 9 for tailoring, and only 2 for electrical installation (Bitamazire 1989). Technical courses require passes in Science and Mathematics, and the smaller number of qualified girls has already been illustrated above. Efforts by educationists to draw girls into this field is lacking (EPRC 1989, and personal communication with Commissioner for Education 1991). Many headteachers for girls' schools do not even bother to provide girls with application forms to such institutions (information from Careers Guidance Unit of MOE 1992). This represents lost opportunity in girls' entrance to higher education.

A scrutiny of agricultural education similarly points to further lost opportunity on the part of girls. In a country where most of the agricultural work is carried out by women one would expect special programmes to draw women into this field at all levels of education. Official education review commissions have always advocated promotion of some form of agricultural training for schools (Phelps-Stokes 1925, De La Warr 1937, de Bunsen 1953 and Castle 1963). The de Bunsen Report encouraged girls' schools to offer a course centred on the home and provision of a balanced diet for children - distinct from what was proposed for boys as future "Young Farmers" or a more theoretical course leading to admission to degree courses. To date, agriculture is not taken seriously as a school subject. It is offered at O-Level (where girls form about half the candidates) but not at A-Level (tables 10.1 and 10.2). Records at Agricultural Colleges and Makerere University show that female enrolment is in the range of 20% of total number of students. Like technical education, therefore, lack of programmes to draw girls into

agricultural training is a hindrance in the wider field of employment and as a channel through to higher education.

In summary, there is little evidence to show that efforts are being taken to diversify girls' options and increase their participation through curriculum arrangements. Their educational horizon is limited either by what is actually offered, or through subtle ways like lack of encouragement by teachers or by simply noting that facilities to involve girls are not available, while no efforts to effect change are made. The situation is made worse by other institutional factors as the following discussion will show.

10.2 TYPES OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Proposition No. 8

The types of secondary schools provided are not conducive to high aspirations and achievement to enable girls to enter higher education in big numbers, since physical facilities and other forms of student support, including management, cater more for boys than girls.

This section assesses the effectiveness of co-education/single - sex and day/boarding schools - institutions available to Ugandan girls (and boys) at secondary school level. It analyses the ways in which such institutions can present barriers to girls' high achievement, thus inhibiting their access to higher education.

(a) Co-education/Single Sex Schools

The general view is that girls tend to do better under single sex schooling while boys gain more from co-educational schools. Because this study has to tackle several other barriers to women's education, it will not be possible to present a full assessment of the effects of co-education/single sex schooling. For example, the study does not allow for a detailed investigation of how teachers treat boys and girls within the classroom, on the lines of Spender (1989) and others. The study has concentrated on the impact of enrolment figures and gender balance and how this affects girls. It analyses official policy and assesses the facilities provided for different sexes. It also considers performance, as reflected in examination results for the different school types.

Virtually all government-aided primary schools are mixed institutions. At secondary school level there are both single sex and mixed institutions. Table

10.3 compiled to show numbers and types of secondary school institutions by district and region illustrates that the majority of schools are mixed (over 80%). Although the table shows slightly more girls' schools than boys schools, the majority of girls' schools are new (early 1980's) and on the basis of facilities, are in the group of "low-quality" schools, (Unesco 1983e and information from officer in charge of secondary schools at MEO). At post secondary level, most institutions are mixed.

A brief historical account of how co-education and single-sex institutions were established in Uganda provides background against which the effectiveness of the now - widespread practice can be assessed. A detailed account is provided by McGregor (1967). Initial influence came from Dr Aggrey (a Ghanaian member of the Phelps-Stokes Commission 1925). The final push was from a visit to Uganda in 1932 by the Headmaster of Achimota College, a co-educational school in Ghana. With the admission of 12 girls in 1933, King's College, Budo became the first co-educational school in East Africa.

The Budo experience is significant for evaluation of the system since the school remains one of the top institutions in the Ugandan system. Co-education was extended to Nabumali High School in 1937, and Makerere College School in 1957. Several more such schools were established in the 1960s (McGregor 1967). The early 1980's saw the creation of many more schools, and the current government policy is to promote mixed schooling (Commissioner for Education 1992).

Because of misgivings about educating boys and girls together, the establishment of co-education at Budo was regarded as an experiment from the start (McGregor 1967). The Education Annual Report of 1933 had the following record:

> "A few young girls were accepted at King's College, Budo in January. This **experiment** appears to be developing satisfactorily and will be watched with great interest". (p. 21).

Government continued to watch it with interest (Educational Annual Report 1936) and it continued to be treated as "an experiment rather than policy" (De La Warr 1937 p. 20). The Director of Education saw it as a "venture in faith" (1938). Subsequent reports show caution, and prefer the practice only at Primary School level (Education Annual Report 1947, Castle Report 1963). Government policy during the Colonial era and soon after Independence could therefore not be

described as wholly embracing co-education. This may be one of the key explanations as to why co-educational institutions have not appeared to serve girls' interests as the following findings indicate.

Firstly, the original reason for starting co-education institutions was stated as giving girls a chance to attain advanced education, then only available to boys (McGregor 1967). Ironically, the existence of co-educational schools later came to be a hindrance to starting girls' only schools. For example, in 1938, the Director of Education informed CMS officials that since girls could attend the Budo school, government would not support a parallel academic course at Gayaza (a girls' school) (Secretariat File No. 17, - record of a meeting dated 22nd June 1938, Entebbe). Co-education schools at Nabumali and Makerere College schools were used to illustrate that Protestant girls were adequately catered for at Secondary school level. Again, in 1957 when the Moslem community demanded a girls' school, Government was able to show that Moslem girls could adequately be catered for by Makerere College school (Education Annual Report 1957). This policy slowed down the pace at which girls could enter higher education.

The desirability of numbers of girls and boys being roughly equal is stressed in Chapter 5. However, the Ugandan case illustrates that this has yet to be achieved. In 1937 girls made 7% of total enrolment at Budo (De La Warr 1937), 16% in 1947 (McGregor 1967) and 25% in 1992 (Headmaster). A summary of enrolment in sample schools (table 10.4) shows that girls range between one third and a quarter of total enrolment. Two headteachers reported that it was government policy not to let girls' numbers go beyond one third of total enrolment. The Commissioner for Education confirmed to the researcher that this was an unwritten rule by headteachers to limit girls' enrolment and not government policy. The isolation, loneliness and lack of belonging recorded by Wandira (1972) and Gateley (1971) cannot easily be overcome in such circumstances. McGregor (1967) records teachers' complaints at Budo where girls failed to mix with boys, whom they also let answer all questions. Inadequate involvement into school activities, sports, and other extra-curricular activities is still a problem (Communication with 3 headteachers). Shying away from eating school meals in one shared dining room had led Budo school authorities to consider reducing numbers of female pupils. (Headmaster's reply to a parent who wondered why girls' numbers had remained static, during a PTA meeting at Budo in 1987 where the researcher was present). Some of these problems are compounded by the general hostility of boys towards girls, evident in mixed schools, and elaborated on later in this section. The researcher's experience during field work was that the

Table 10.3: NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY REGION, DISTRICT AND TYPE (1991)

CENTRAL REGION

DISTRICT	TOTAL NO. OF SCH.	BOYS SCHOOLS	GIRLS SCHOOLS	CO-EDUC. SCHOOLS	BOARDING	DAY	TOTAL NO.OF PUPILS	BOYS	GIRLS	% FEMALE OF ALL PUPILS
KAMPALA	20	1	1	18	3	17	24525	15093	9432	38.46
MPIGI	25		2	23	8	17	13493	6651	6842	50.71
MUKONO	23	1	1	21	3	20	11560	7204	4356	37.68
MASAKA	12	1	1	10	3	9	7157	4543	2614	36.52
RAKAI	11		1	10	1	10	3516	1553	193	55.83
LUWERO	11			11	2	9	5174	3175	1999	38.64
MUBENDE	17			17		17	4711	2503	2203	46.76
KALANGALA	1			1		1	69	34	35	50.72
TOTAL	120	3	6	111	20	100	70205	40761	29444	41.94

EASTERN REGION

DISTRICT	TOTAL NO. OF SCH.	BOYS SCHOOLS	GIRLS SCHOOLS	CO-EDUC. SCHOOLS	BOARDING	DAY	TOTAL NO.OF PUPILS	BOYS	GIRLS	% FEMALE OF ALL PUPILS
KUMI	3			3	2	1	1535	1380	155	10.0
MBALE	25	1	1	23	6	19	15502	10062	5458	35.21
KAMULI	8			8	1	7	3504	2444	1060	30.25
JINJA	8	3	2	3	5	3	7672	4912	2760	35.97
SOROTI	13	1	2	10	2	9	5670	3873	1797	31.69
TORORO	39	3	3	33	10	29	26129	20702	5427	20.77
KAPCHORWA	5		1	4	2	3	2164	1303	861	39.79
IGANA	13		1	12	1	12	8515	4669	3846	45.17
TOTAL	114	8	10	96	29	83	70691	49345	21364	30.22

Table 10.3 (contd): NUMBER OF GOVERNMENT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS BY REGION, DISTRICT AND TYPE (1991)

NORTHERN REGION

DISTRICT	TOTAL NO. OF SCH.	BOYS SCHOOLS	GIRLS SCHOOLS	CO-EDUC. SCHOOLS	BOARDING	DAY	TOTAL NO.OF PUPILS	BOYS	GIRLS	% FEMALE OF ALL PUPILS
ARUA	20	2	2	16	6	14	11311	9604	1707	15.09
APAC	16		2	14	5	11	5878	4308	1570	26.71
KITGUM	11	1	1	9	3	8	3599	2874	725	20.14
GULU	15	2	1	12	4	11	4741	3687	1054	22.23
LIRA	23	3	3	17	7	16	9917	7989	1928	19.44
MOROTO	3	1	2		3		877	601	276	31.47
MOYO	4		1	3	4		1259	1002	257	20.41
NEBBI	6	1	1	4	3	3	2415	1790	652	27.00
KOTIDO	3	1		2	3		850	805	45	5.29
TOTAL	101	11	13	77	38	63	40847	32660	8214	20.11

WESTERN REGION

DISTRICT	TOTAL NO. OF SCH.	BOYS SCHOOLS	GIRLS SCHOOLS	CO-EDUC. SCHOOLS	BOARDING	DAY	TOTAL NO.OF PUPILS	BOYS	GIRLS	% FEMALE OF ALL PUPILS
BUSHENYI	36	1	7	28	13	23	10613	7278	3335	31.42
MBARARA	39	3	6	30	18	21	11576	791	3785	32.70
KABALE	25	2	2	21	6	19	8836	7366	1470	16.64
KABAROLE	27	1	1	25	4	23	9402	6177	3225	34.30
RUKUNGIRI	27	1	6	20	12	12	6773	5019	1754	25.90
HOIMA	11			11	2	9	3924	2616	1308	33.33
MASINDI	6	1	1	4	3	3	2987	2304	683	22.87
BUNDIBUGYO	2			2		2	1340	984	356	26.57
KASESE	8		1	7	2	6	3052	2101	951	31.16
TOTAL	181	9	24	148	60	119	58503	41636	16867	28.83

Source: Compiled from School lists supplied by Ministry of Education Secondary Schools Section (1991).

Table 10.4: CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE SCHOOLS (1991)

School Code	Total Number of Students	A-Level Male Students	A-Level Female Students	O-Level Male Students	O-Level Female Students	Male Teachers	Female Teachers	Male Head Teachers	Female Head Teachers	Male Head of Department	Female Head of Department	Male with Other Responsibilities	Female with Other Responsibilities	Male/Board of Governors	Female/Board of Governors	Male/PTA	Female PTA	Date Established as Secondary School	Date Acquired A-Level Status	Current Status	Founding Body
O1M	985 (T)	562 (T)	—	423 (T)	—	41	13	1	—	10	4	5	2	12	1	7	1	1969 (1964)	1987	RDS	P
02M	876	654	—	222 (T)	—	23	22	1	—	7	10	19	14	9	4	5	4	(1906) 1927	1960	NBS	COU
03M	424	75	25	185	139	24	4	1	—	9	1	5	2	12	2	9	1	1969 (1965)	1980	NBS	COU
04G	662	—	123	—	539	17	29	—	1	6	9	2	5	7	8	6	7	1952 (1905)	1062	NBS	COU
05M								N	/	A										RDS	Gov't
06G	1052		154		898	35	23	1	—	7	6	13	10	6	7	11	3	1965 (1958)	1984	NBS	COU
07M	412	40		272	58(T)	25			n	/	A								1984	DDS	C/C
08M	1200	300 (T)			500 (T)	69	43	1	—	15	7	8	3	13	0	11	3	1957	1964	RDS	P
09G	566	—	77	—	409	22	6	—	1	15	1	3	2	13	2	12	3	1975 (1966)	1980	NBS	COU
10M	642	510 (T)			132 (T)	29	7	1	—	14	1	13	5	11	2	9	2	1965 (1922)	1969	NBS	COU

Table 10.4 (contd): CHARACTERISTICS OF SAMPLE SCHOOLS (1991)

School Code	Total Number of Students	A-Level Male Students	A-Level Female Students	O-Level Male Students	O-Level Female Students	Male Teachers	Female Teachers	Male Head Teachers	Female Head Teachers	Male Head of Department	Female Head of Department	Male with Other Responsibilities	Female with Other Responsibilities	Male/Board of Governors	Female/Board of Governors	Male/PTA	Female PTA	Date Established as Secondary School	Date Acquired A-Level Status	Current Status	Founding Body
11G	600	—	120	—	480	27	25	—	1	9	5	2	2	7	6	6	3	1964 (1961)	1980	NBS	C/C
12M	550	45	10	485	10	35	2	1	—	7	2	5	1	10	—	7	2	1965	1975	NBS	Gov't
13M	1476	823 (T)		644 (T)		41	32	1	—	8	6	5	3	11	2	6	1	1959 (1956)	1983	RDS	COU
14M	810	107	37	460	206	25	7	1	—	9	3	9	3	11	2	11	4	1943 (1912)	1964	NBS	COU
15M	610	502 (T)			108 (T)	31	6	1	—	13	3	6	4	11	2	7	4	1950 (1926)	1964	NBS	COU
16M	756	64	5	501	191	43	1	1	—	14	—	5	—	12	1	12	1	1976 (1960)	1985	DDS	P

KEY:
M = Mixed School
G = Girls' School
* = Not gender segregated
500 (T) total numbers of boys or girls as O or A level
Date established = numbers in brackets shown when school was established — not necessarily as a secondary school

P = Private/Individual
COU = Church of Uganda (Anglican)
C/C = Catholic Church
Gov't = Central Government
RDS = Regional Day School
NBS = National Boaarding School
DDS = District Day School

Source: Compiled from fieldwork data from Sample Schools (1991).

immediate explanation for fewer female pupils in mixed institutions was due to inadequate boarding facilities. However, using Budo as an example, the first girls' dormitory was built in 1933, and the second one in 1945 (McGregor 1967). In 1992, these still comprise sole accommodation for girls, with minor extensions (communication with Deputy Headteacher). Should this be interpreted as lack of facilities or continuation of the original experiment? Indeed, in some of the numerous Ugandan mixed schools, girls' numbers are so negligible that their presence can only be explained in terms of "improving weekend socials" (Onyango 1991), to which he should have added "for the boys".

Secondly, parental approval of co-educational schooling is regarded as a prerequisite (Castle 1963). The Budo experiment had this approval (McGregor 1967). In some other regions, however, this approval was not forthcoming. For example, an experiment opposed by parents in Mbarara had to be abandoned in 1939, and girls moved to a site miles away, thus leading to the establishment of Bweranyangi Girls' School (Gateley 1971). The Roman Catholic Missions were opposed to Co-education (and still are opposed) (communication with Commissioner for Education 1992). Today mixed schools are so common that it would be easy to assume that they are wholly acceptable. In order to assess the validity of this fact, this study sought views of parents and Opinion Leaders and their response is provided in table 10.5.

Table 10.5 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF PREFERRED TYPE OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

Institutional Type	Parents (n=130)	Opinion Leaders (n=155)
Day – single	6.9	5.2
Day – mixed	35.4	52.9
Boarding – single	22.3	10.3
Boarding – mixed	33.1	27.1
N/A	2.3	4.5

Source: Fieldwork data - Questionnaire Number: 15 (Parents) and 15 (Opinion Leaders).

The results clearly show that mixed schooling is currently preferred, whether under a day or boarding arrangement (35% for day and 33% for boarding in the case of parents and 53% for day and 27% for boarding in the case of "Opinion Leaders". This seems mainly to have been influenced by the economic hardship

of the time, judging from weighting given to reasons offered for this preference under an open-ended question (No. 16 for parents and No. 16 for "Opinion Leaders") and subsequently summarised in table 10.6.

Table 10.6: DISTRIBUTION OF REASONS FOR PREFERENCE OF TYPE OF SECONDARY SCHOOL (%)

REASON	TYPE OF SCHOOL			
	Day Single-Sex	Day-Mixed	Boarding Single-Sex	Boarding-Mixed
Economical/Widens Provision	2.7	37.8	—	—
Ideal environment for both sexes to learn to live and compete with each other	—	18.9	—	6.1
Best Study Facilities/Environment	—	—	—	8.8
Best environment for girls' achievement	—	—	11.5	—
Avoid pregnancy and related indiscipline	—	—	10.3	—
Enable Students to learn cultural values	1.5	—	—	—
Students able to help parents	1.5	0.7	—	—

Source: Fieldwork data – Questionnaire: Numbers 16 (Opinion Leaders) and 16 (Parents)

Note: Summary refers to respondents who gave reasons (126 parents and 133 Opinion Leaders, total of 259 responses).

Thirdly, one of the main arguments for co-education is that it gives boys and girls a chance to live together as they would in adult life. The literature review illustrates that this mainly benefits boys. The researcher gathered evidence to show that Ugandan experience points to lack of integration to-date. Budo records general teasing of girls, intermittent clashes, e.g. in 1956, 1959, with the worst one in 1960, ending in the temporary closure of the school. Each time this happened, the "experiment" had to be reviewed (McGregor 1967). Judging from the Headmaster's comment recorded earlier, this experiment has yet to be concluded. Failure to integrate is recorded in other institutions. Efforts to admit girls at Kigezi High School in 1947 were short lived (Gateley 1971). In 1965 girls were admitted in bigger numbers, but due to social problems, girls were phased out in 1984, only

to be re-admitted in 1986 again (communication with current Headteacher). Current school girls informed the researcher that they only go to the dining room in the presence of the headmaster or some other teacher with authority to prevent harassment by boys. At Nabumali High school boys have seriously manhandled girls on two occasions (1990 and 1991) (communication with Headmaster). At Nyakasura school, communication with the Headmaster revealed wavering views within the community, about the presence of girls at this school. Boys' hostility towards girls is widespread, although it may not yet be revealed in the extreme example of events in 1991 at a mixed school, St. Kizito, in neighbouring Kenya, where boys went on a rampage in girls' dormitories, leaving nineteen girls dead and several others raped. (See The Sunday Nation newspaper dated 17th May 1992 reporting court proceedings against some of the schoolboys). In agreement with Spender (1989), these examples of 'real life situations' do not provide a conducive environment for study for the girls.

Fourthly, Chapter 5 points to the fact that girls tend to perform better within single sex schools. For this study, communication with four headteachers revealed that there is usually a handful of bright girls in mixed schools who keep to the top group in class, but that in general girls' performance lagged behind that of boys. These headteachers (all men) further reported that girls tended to be more concerned with their appearance than with studies. "A casual romantic remark by a boy takes up a lot of a girl's time long after the boy has forgotten about it", so observed one headmaster. Three women teachers at sample schools agreed with the observation. Poorer performance by girls has already been demonstrated in tables 10.1 and 10.2. This study also analysed UCE examination results for four consecutive years to gauge relative performance of types of schools - mixed, boys' and girls' schools. The results presented in table 10.7 show that single sex schools perform better than mixed schools. Boys' schools perform particularly well. Although this cannot be regarded as completely conclusive since many of the new girls' and mixed schools are of such poor quality that valid comparisons cannot be made, headteachers' reports and experience elsewhere lend support to this finding.

To strengthen this evidence, the researcher compiled a list of 39 A-Level schools which have sent at least 10 students to Makerere University annually (1987-1992), shown in Appendix 6.14 This shows that the largest group of girls come from single sex schools, and mixed schools show lower figures for girls. It has to be pointed out, however, that such girls' schools consist of old, very selective

and prestigious schools which are in a position to pick the best girls nationally, and to attract parents able to maintain the schools under the current inflationary environment, thereby ensuring the presence of qualified staff.

Fifthly, Chapter 5 pointed to the possibility of girls' schools enhancing gender stereotyping, with regard to women's roles, women's subjects etc. In spite of the many mixed schools in Uganda, girls still take traditional girls' subjects as discussion under Proposition 7 illustrated. There is also a common view expressed by both male and female students at Makerere University that girls from single sex schools are socially uninformed, and find problems in adjustment once they get out of the grip of controlled life of the school. Kasente's (1983) research on social guidance in several girls' schools in Kampala points to this shortcoming. The balance now has to be a choice between producing a small group of socially ingenious girls who manage to filter through the complex terrain of co-educational life; OR increasing girls' numbers in higher education more rapidly through girls' only schools. Girls from the latter type may take longer to catch up socially; but which type is more beneficial to women as a group? How can the balance be achieved?

(b) Day/Boarding Schools

Current government policy which is in favour of day schools is based on economic considerations (Policy Statement by Minister of Education The New Vision 31-8-1991). For the majority of Ugandans, boarding schools remain a dream because of costs. Obbo calculates that only 3.5% of Ugandan students attend such schools (The Weekly Topic 28-9-1990). In 1983 savings in capital costs of a day versus a boarding school in Uganda were of the order of about 30-40%, and savings in recurrent costs 50% or more (UNESCO 1983). Initially boarding schools were seen to offer a chance to train pupils in good habits of living in communities (Phelps-Stokes Commission 1925). In the 1960's boarding schools were seen to be a unifying factor among the varied communities of a newly independent state (Gaudreault 1966). In the 1990's boarding schools are not only seen as being costly but also as centres of indiscipline, corruption and immorality (Minister of Education The New Vision 31-8-1991 and Obbo The Weekly Topic 28-9-1990).

Boarding schools present a better atmosphere for concentration on studies (Kesente 1983, Katusabe 1991). There is evidence to show that boarding schools perform better. An analysis of 1990 UCE results revealed that virtually all the 50

best schools were boarding. Only one out of the 20 best schools was day, and the 20 schools which recorded general improved results were also boarding (Lugalambi The Weekly Topic 29-3-1990). Table 10.8 which classified UCE results for four years shows that boarding schools perform better, although again it has to be pointed out that many boarding schools are old well-established institutions in comparison to many day schools. For girls, however, additional advantages seem to accrue. Gaudreault (1966) reported how girls appeared to enjoy boarding school where they were treated as individuals, as compared to home where they were trained for the community. This seems to be an important factor not only for personal development but also for eventual uplifting of women's status outlined in chapter 3. Relief from family labour and removal of anxiety on the part of parents with regard to the problems day school girls are likely to face are additional positive aspects of boarding schools. Parents and "Opinion Leaders" in the study sample thought single-sex boarding schools were best for girls (table 10.6).

This factor was further probed by the researcher through discussion with a headmistress of one of the very few girls' day secondary schools. The school enrols over 1000 girls, and is situated in an industrial area. Classes run in two shifts. The first two years attend afternoon classes and attendance is fairly regular. The third and final years attend morning classes and this is when girls drop out of school in large numbers. Transport is expensive, and whereas in the first two years girls could start walking early enough to attend afternoon classes, they are unable to cover the same distances in time for morning classes. By this time, the girls are bigger and attract the attention of "Sugar-Daddies" who lure them with lifts or cash for transport. Pregnancy, truancy, and drop-out rates rise at this stage. The school has hostel places for the more desperate cases only. As a result, performance remains poor. Many other girls suffer similar deprivations in day urban mixed schools. That girls' boarding schools consistently perform well is reflected in the official annual summary released with UCE results. For example, in 1991, of the best 10 schools, 5 were girls' boarding schools, 3 boys' boarding schools and 2 mixed boarding schools (The Weekly Topic 1st March 1991).

As government now plans to switch to day-mixed schools, girls' access seems to be entering another negative era. Boarding schools will remain for those who can afford to pay, but the majority of girls, particularly in rural areas will be even more disadvantaged as boarding schools lose the government subsidies they have enjoyed in the past. At the moment, the question of cost overrides other issues, as parents and "opinion leaders" responses confirmed. In view of national

Table 10.7: RELATIVE PERFORMANCE AT UCE EXAMINATIONS BY MIXED, BOYS' AND GIRLS' SCHOOLS (1986-1989)

	1986					1987					1988					1989				
	I	II	III	IV	F	I	II	III	IV	F	I	II	III	IV	F	I	II	III	IV	F
Mixed																				
Total	1255	4618	11120	11138	8254	976	4044	11015	11493	8830	1753	4375	10666	10141	6773	2028	3841	9071	8512	6124
Av.	2.73	10.06	24.23	24.27	17.98	2.00	8.29	22.57	23.55	18.09	3.11	7.76	18.91	17.98	12.01	3.45	6.54	15.45	14.50	10.44
Boys'																				
Total	765	1388	1328	442	128	470	1242	1404	427	129	685	1472	1328	454	149	660	1308	1352	449	302
Av.	19.62	35.59	34.05	11.33	3.28	11.46	30.29	34.24	10.41	3.15	15.95	34.23	30.88	10.56	3.47	14.67	29.07	30.04	9.98	3.8
Girls'																				
Total	385	946	1494	1025	545	337	756	1478	1057	623	396	944	1670	1016	355	452	874	1321	785	387
Av.	6.31	15.51	24.49	16.80	8.93	6.53	16.03	25.32	17.37	9.24	6.09	14.52	25.69	15.63	5.46	6.65	12.85	19.43	11.54	5.7

Source: Processed by researcher from detailed UNEB Examination Results tables supplied by its Statistical Unit (1990).

KEY;
I-IV = Pass grades, Grade I being the highest.
F = Failure grade.
Av = Average passes for each grade (i.e. average of all students who passed within that grade for each respective year).
Total number of schools varied from year to year.

Table 10.8: RELATIVE PERFORMANCE AT UCE EXAMINATIONS BY DAY AND BOARDING SCHOOLS (1986-1989)

	1986					1987					1988					1989				
	I	II	III	IV	F	I	II	III	IV	F	I	II	III	IV	F	I	II	III	IV	F
Day																				
Total	663	3070	8081	8444	6227	371	2579	7994	9552	8232	1268	3048	8669	9470	7957	2528	3531	7653	8684	8528
Av.	1.79	8.30	21.84	22.82	16.38	1.60	7.40	19.47	20.35	15.00	2.53	6.08	17.30	18.90	15.88	4.82	6.73	14.58	16.54	16.24
Boarding																				
Total	1686	3431	4135	2076	1024	1081	2998	4493	2377	1238	1555	3550	4418	2211	955	1534	3372	4397	2251	1091
Av.	11.63	23.66	28.52	14.32	7.06	7.61	21.11	31.64	16.74	8.72	10.10	23.05	28.69	14.36	6.20	9.65	21.21	27.65	14.16	6.87

Source: Processed by Researcher from detailed UNEB Examination Results tables supplied by its Statistical Unit (1990).

KEY:
I-IV = Pass grades, Grade I being the highest.
F = Failure grade.
Av = Average passes for each grade (i.e. average of all students who passed within that grade for each respective year).
Total number of schools varied from year to year.

financial problems, it seems logical to aim at improving mixed schooling atmosphere so that girls can benefit from it as well as boys. Although many studies point out that this is difficult to achieve, Uganda can still learn from rare success stories such as that of Peru (Sara-Lafosse in Stromquist 1992) where co-educational schooling was found to be a better motivating environment to girls than single sex schools. For the moment however, institutional characteristics still pose a strong barrier to women's access to higher education.

10.3 THE RESTRICTIVE NATURE OF THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

Proposition No. 9

The educational structure becomes more restrictive at each successive stage. By higher education entry level, restrictions have further multiplied. This poses further limitations to girls who face stronger and more numerous barriers than boys.

In order to test this proposition the following aspects of the educational structure were considered:-

(i) The process of moving from one stage to the other and assessment of opportunities available for boys and girls. The basic sector is assessed separately from the higher education sector.

(ii) Institutional capacity in higher education.

(iii) The general nature of the higher education sector.

(i) (a) The Basic Educational Level

Promotion from one stage to another is through written examinations, and entry is highly selective. At primary school level, only 40% of those who pass the examination get admission to post secondary institutions (EPRC 1989 and MOE Report 1990). Table 10.9, compiled from fieldwork data from MOE shows that females form about 37% of total Primary Seven leavers; and 34% of those who get admission to the next stage. They also form an average of 37% of those who drop-out at the end of this level, and 33% of repeaters. (A small number will join private institutions but this does not change the general picture).

Table 10.9 FEMALE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STUDENT REPEATERS AND DROP-OUTS AT THE END OF PRIMARY SCHOOL STAGE).

Year	Primary Seven Leavers	Repeaters	Admission to post-primary Institutions	Drop-out
1980	35	32	28	37
1981	41	33	30	34
1982	33	33	31	33
1983	36	33	33	38
1984	38	33	34	38
1985	36	33	40	37
1986	37	33	35	40
1987	39	33	35	47
1988	36	33	37	36
1989	43	33	36	32

Source: Processed from tables showing total male and female student repeaters/drop-outs at end of primary cycle (Raw data supplied by Planning Unit, MOE).

It is estimated that 60% of all the pupils who start primary school never reach the end of that cycle (Minister of Education The New Vision 5-7-1991). In order to get further insight into the drop-out process four primary schools were investigated - two grade one urban-based schools, and two grade two rural-based schools. Due to poor levels of record keeping, uniform statistics could not be obtained. However, findings were able to highlight several contrasts. Appendix 6.15 shows that the total number who drop-out of the sample rural school (Kikungiri) is usually three times higher than the number of drop-outs from the urban school (Kitante), despite the fact that total enrolments at Kitante school are five times as high as the rural school. Drop-out is observable in almost every year of study in the rural school which is not the case with Kitante school. In fact, as illustrated under societal factors, drop-out in urban primary schools generally mean transfer to other schools. In general, gender differences were not regular enough to show a systematic trend. However, for the two rural schools, where it was possible to trace at least two cohorts of pupils, from the first grade to the seventh grade of primary school, differences were observable. At Kiyeyi primary school 31% of the boys who start school are likely to complete the cycle as compared to 12% of the girls (Appendix 6.17). For Kikungiri school, 15% of the boys are likely to complete this cycle as compared to 9% of the girls (Appendix 6.18). Circumstances are such that very few such pupils will leave to join other schools. The pool of girls for post

primary school entry will have been more drained than that of the boys at this initial stage.

At the second major school stage (O-Level), half the total of students did not proceed to A-Level and between 1980 and 1989, girls represented an average of 55% of those who drop-out after O-Level, and since 1986 the figure was above 60% (table 10.10). This is a big reduction in the female pool since they only constitute an average of 26% of all O-Level leavers. The remarkable fact that on average girls represent only 2% of total repeaters at this level compared with 33% of repeaters at primary level shows that this is the level where efforts and chances to continue up the ladder drastically drop.

Table 10.10: FEMALE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL STUDENT REPEATERS AND DROP-OUTS AT O-LEVEL STAGE (1980-1989)

Year	O-Level Leavers	Repeaters	Admission to Post O-Level	Drop-outs
1980	24	4	40	59
1981	22	2	57	42
1982	22	2	55	43
1983	21	2	55	43
1984	24	1	43	55
1985	23	2	42	56
1986	30	1	38	61
1987	30	2	37	61
1988	30	2	35	63
1989	30	2	38	61

Source: Processed from tables showing total numbers of male and female student repeaters/drop-outs at end of O-Level Cycle (Raw data supplied by Planning Unit MEO).

Enrolling into primary school is not a major problem since there is a school within walking distance for most children, (UNICEF 1989). Problems arise in urban areas only, where a few top schools use interviews to eliminate competition, (EPRC 1989). Major limitations start at entry to secondary school, mainly because the good quality schools, particularly boarding schools, are very limited. Admission, based on the PLE examination is organised centrally, the best schools picking the best qualified candidates according to first choices. Limitations at this level are reflected in the large number of parents who flock to admission centres to

lobby headteachers during the exercise. Subsequently, headteachers have to play "hide and seek" to avoid queues of parents at school offices. This stage is so crucial that if a child does not enter a good secondary school, the chances of going on to higher education are almost nil. It can perhaps be illustrated by the experience of a parent, one Nyonyintono (The New Vision 12-4-91):

> "My daughter got an aggregate of 12 points. It was a failure as regards Uganda boarding schools. Yet it is a first grade. She wept! I wept! I knew the struggle had just begun".

To enter A-Level schools, admission is again centrally organised,students picked on merit, and again the best schools pick the best qualified candidates. At this stage, the students are allocated subjects within the Science or Arts sub-divisions. The remainder go to Teacher Training Colleges, Technical Colleges or Departmental Institutes. Restrictions from subject options, and the fact that girls will be fewer in the Science sub-division limit girls' chances again.

Recommended total number for intake into the first year of A-Level classes in Government-aided single-sex schools in 1990 was 1077 for girls, and 1725 for boys (MOE Official Admissions List 1990). It was not possible to get separate admission targets for boys and girls within mixed schools, which had places for 4,780 students; but the girls' numbers are much lower than the maximum of one third adhered to at O-Level. Some students may join private institutions, which are normally poorer in quality. Because University education is regarded as the ultimate end of education, any student who does not continue to the next higher stage is regarded as a failure. This has led to high repetition rates at the end of each stage. In 1989 35% of students admitted into professional courses at Makerere University (medicine, veterinary, law, engineering etc.) had repeated the A-Level examination (Admissions Records). Girls are not likely to persist through such frequent repetitions.

(i) (b) Admission into the Higher Education Sector

The admissions procedure into higher education starts when UNEB releases A-Level examinations results. Makerere University, and lately, Mbarara continue the filtering process by applying the various conditional requirements (Makerere University Official Guide 1990). The first is the general University requirement of at least 6 passes at O-Level and at least two principal passes at A-Level. The applicant is then assessed for ***"Special Faculty Requirements"***. Some Faculties have particular requirements for specific subjects. An overall

complex weighting system according to how well the applicant has scored in ***essential, relevant, desirable*** or ***other*** subjects, is finally applied (Appendix 5 shows this breakdown). As table 10.11 shows only about one third of eligible candidates get University admission. The table shows that women comprise almost one quarter of admitted students. For Makerere, A-Level applicants must have sat the examination within two years preceding application for entry (3 years for departmental institutions). This is another limiting factor for qualified women who may have dropped out at this level because of pregnancy, marriage, etc., but would wish to resume studies later.

Table 10.11 ELIGIBLE VERSUS ADMITTED NUMBER OF APPLICANTS AT MAKERERE UNIVERSITY (1987-1990)

Academic Year & Applicant Group	Total Numbers	Total Female Numbers	Female % Age of Group
1987/88 Eligible	3612	895	25
Actual Intake	1752	351	20
1988/89 Eligible	4236	1058	25
Actual Intake	1706	411	24
1989/90 Eligible	4909	1076	22
Actual Intake	1754	416	24
1990/91 Eligible	6363	1226	19
Actual Intake	2102	626	30*

*Increased by new policy of positive discrimination

Source: Compiled by researcher from Makerere University Admissions Records.

The second channel for admission to degree courses is through the Mature Age Entry Scheme. Applicants of at least 25 years of age sit a written examination and attend interviews before final selection to various courses. This is a very competitive examination (over 1000 candidates each year), and limited to only 5% of University intake at Makerere University, usually 70-80 students (Admissions Office records).

Obstacles for girls at this level include the general smaller numbers at A-Level, and the fact that those who fail to take up offers immediately lose their chances (e.g. through marriage or pregnancy). The "Mature Age Entry Scheme" has no set syllabus and requires some type of "continuing education" which is not

usually available. Science students stand better chances of being admitted to university, technical and other departmental colleges. Girls are unable to take full advantage of this because few of them take up Science subjects at A-Level. Table 10.12 illustrates this in Makerere's case, where for instance 85% of eligible Science students were admitted compared to 23% of Arts in 1990/91. In that year female percentage of Science students was 18 compared to 40 in Arts.

Table 10.12: GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF ADMISSIONS TO ARTS AND SCIENCE BASED COURSES AT MAKERERE

Candidates/ Intake	1989/90			1990/91		
	Arts	Science	Total	Arts	Science	Total
Candidates	3,030	1,450	4,480	5,103	1,062	6,185
Intake Male	690	596	1,285	712	761	1,473
Female	268	98	386	466	163	639
% Female	29	14	23	40	18	30
% Admitted of Eligible Candiates	32	48	37	23	85	34

Source: Admission Records Office, Makerere University, 1992

(ii) Institutional Capacity in Higher Education

Higher education institutions are not only small in enrolment capacity but also often operate below this capacity. Makerere University has a capacity of 10,000 students but can only adequately handle 6000 (Kajubi 1991a). Mbarara and Islamic Universities had only 142 and 346 students respectively in 1992, although these are new institutions expected to expand (Planning Unit MEO). Returns from sample higher education institutions, in Appendix 6.19 show that they enrol few students, and in 6 of the 11 institutions women form less than 30% of all students

An analysis of institutional capacity at other higher education institutions shows that many of them have fixed numbers for females and cannot go beyond that ceiling (written information from institutional officials). Others like the Civil Aviation Academy report that they could accommodate women but none has ever applied. Appendix 6.20 showing institutional capacity of Ministry of Education -

run institutions shows that most are small and have low proportions of women.

Girls are therefore handicapped at four fronts. Some institutions cannot take in more students because of shortage of staff, laboratory space and equipment or teaching time. For example Makerere had to cut down intake by 30% in 1982 and has not reversed that policy because of lack of inputs (Kajubi 1992a). Marginal candidates, like rural girls from poorer quality schools therefore fail to enter higher education. Secondly, institutions cannot take in more girls simply because there are no boarding facilities for them. Thirdly, girls have not been made aware or encouraged to enter these institutions. This is illustrated by the claim at some institutions that no female has ever applied for admission. Fourthly some institutions are simply too small, limiting wider access. It is also necessary to emphasise that while many candidates at this level gain entrance to more degree courses in higher education institutions they are qualified to enter university. On the part of women this loss means a continuation of female under-representation among the policy-formulation and decision-making personnel. The structure is such that diploma and certificate holders cannot easily advance to degree level at a future date.

(iii) The Nature of the Higher Education Sector

The higher education sector is not co-ordinated (EPRC 1989). The specialised group of institutions act independently of each other. There are no linkages or collaborative arrangements to enable a group of students to benefit from courses offered by another institution. For example a diploma from an agricultural college cannot be offered as entry requirement to a degree course at Makerere University. Indeed, it is only since 1990 that the Joint Admissions Board (JAB) was created to co-ordinate admissions to higher education institutions.

Because Makerere University was for so long the only higher education institution in the country a brief note about its development will show that from the beginning this sector was created for a few. Although it has its origins in a technical college, Makerere started as an elitist institution in 1922 when it was officially set aside to provide courses in medicine, agriculture, veterinary science and teacher training (Macpherson 1964, Onyango 1985). Government then believed it was inevitable to plan for a few graduates (Furley and Watson 1978). Previous studies about its limited capability to expand are plentiful (e.g. Kagenda - Atwoki 1973, Ashby 1964, Southall 1974, Wandira 1977, Kwesiga 1988 etc.).

Until the creation of the University of East Africa in 1963, Makerere served the whole of East Africa alone. During 1963-1970 period, Makerere's development was halted in order to allow other constituent colleges at Nairobi and Dar es Salaam to "catch up". After 1970 when Makerere would have developed faster as a national University, economic and civil turmoil intervened. Makerere has since been preoccupied with survival and rehabilitation, rather than expansion. This can be illustrated by the relatively small number of graduates it has produced over the years. For example from 1964-1988, it produced 1,635 medical doctors, from 1961 to 1988 only 1,461 agricultural graduates, from 1975-1988 only 558 engineers, and 411 veterinary surgeons (Minister of Education -The New Vision 5-7-1991). While higher education remained static, secondary schools expanded. University entry requirements were progressively raised. Competition increased, and candidates with University entry requirements began to be pushed into the other sector of higher education. This means that girls must face greater competition, in addition to other limitations.

The Ugandan educational structure is therefore restrictive. Access to each major stage has particular limitations arising from size, requirements and procedures. For girls further restrictions arise from provision of accommodation or mere exclusion, whether intended or not. High competitiveness, reflected in high rates of repetitions, further affects girls who will be facing other pressures to stop schooling. The structure is designed on an elitist basis and therefore clients with specific constraints will inevitably be thrown out at the various stages.

10.4 LACK OF FEMALE ROLE MODELS IN EDUCATION

Proposition No 10

The education system in Uganda lacks enough female role-models to motivate girls/women to aspire to entering higher education, which is not the case for boys/men.

The general literature review stresses that lack of female teachers is a barrier to girls' education, as they have been found to increase girls' rates of persistence in schools. Their presence and participation in co-educational institutions is particularly vital as these institutions ter.d to be male-dominated and female students never completely become part of the system. Under-representation of female teachers at secondary school level was cited as one of the reasons why girls seem not to enjoy or take up mathematics and science-related

subjects. In Uganda, from the beginning, married women were not encouraged to remain as members of the teaching staff, so that the career of most women was too short to lead to positions of responsibility (Maleche 1961, Castle 1963, Gaudreault 1966). The de Bunsen Report (1953) recommended that married teachers should work part-time. Even today, single mothers are not encouraged to remain on school staff, especially in Christian-founded institutions (information gathered at three institutions during fieldwork). All this points to the fact that female teachers have not always been regarded as permanent staff and therefore do not get drawn fully into the whole system.

An analysis of Ugandan teachers as role-models has to be approached at three fronts. The first is that since the 1970s the teaching profession has progressively lost the respect and value it enjoyed within society. Due to the decline in the national economy, teachers' salaries have become meaningless. Teachers have tried other ways of earning a "living wage" like instituting special "coaching" classes. Others teach in two or three schools and the Permanent Secretary of MEO has had to issue a circular stopping such practices (The New Vision 28-9-1990). The mass media is full of illustrations of the teachers' poor conditions of service. **"Being a teacher is choosing poverty"** — title of a long letter by one Ddungu describing teachers' living conditions (The Weekly Topic 30-3-1990). Many teachers have left the profession, creating a big shortage at all levels of the system. In 1988, 56% of primary school teachers were untrained and secondary schools had 40% untrained and undertrained teachers. Primary School Teacher Training Colleges had 20-25% untrained tutors (EPRC 1989). For over a decade, Makerere University staffing position has been at 50% of its establishment (Kajubi 1991a). With such a bad situation, the need for female teachers becomes even more urgent, which leads to the second facet of this analysis.

Gender balance among secondary school teachers was regarded as crucial in this study because of the support and encouragement girls then require to push on to higher education. Table 10.13 reveals that at national level women teachers are only 15% of this group. In twelve out of 32 districts the figure was below 10%, with none in one district. Returns from sample schools show that except for one school, there were more male teachers than female teachers in all girls' only schools. It was only in one mixed school that female teachers made almost half of the staff.

Table 10.13: SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN UGANDAN GOVERNMENT AIDED SCHOOLS BY REGION, DISTRICT AND SEX (1990)

Region	District	SEX			
		M		F	
Central	Mubende	93	(80.9)*	22	(19.1)
	Mukono	218	(87.9)	30	(12.1)
	Kalangala	24	(96)	1	(4)
	Rakai	273	(88.9)	34	(11.1)
	Masaka	100	(91.7)	9	(8.3)
	Mpigi	132	(78.6)	36	(21.4)
	Luwero	12	(63.2)	7	(36.8)
	Kampala	250	(58.1)	180	(41.9)
North/ North Eastern	Apac	110	(92.4)	9	(7.6)
	Lira	352	(96.2)	14	(3.8)
	Kitgum	82	(88.2)	11	(11.8)
	Moyo	34	(89.5)	4	(10.5)
	Nebbi	39	(100)	0	(0)
	Arua	69	(98.6)	1	(1.4)
	Gulu	39	(95.1)	2	(4.9)
	Moroto	19	(55.9)	15	(44.1)
	Kumi	58	(90.6)	6	(9.4)
Eastern	Mbale	265	(85.2)	46	(14.8)
	Jinja	70	(64.2)	39	(35.8)
	Kamuli	48	(73.8)	8	(26.2)
	Iganga	26	(86.7)	4	(13.3)
	Soroti	217	(86.1)	35	(13.9)
	Kapchorwa	61	(92.4)	6	(7.4)
	Tororo	300	(85.7)	50	(14.3)
Western	Bushenyi	250	(69.6)	109	(30.4)
	Kabarole	190	(94.1)	12	(5.9)
	Masindi	88	(89.8)	10	(10.2)
	Hoima	181	(93.8)	12	(6.2)
	Kasese\Bundibugyo	214	(91)	21	(9)
	Rukungiri	450	(82.3)	97	(17.7)
	Mbarara	530	(86.5)	87	(13.5)
	Kabale	501	(91.3)	48	(8.7)
TOTAL	(6260)	5,295	(84.6)	965	(15.4)

* Figures in brackets indicate percentages.

Source: Compiled from fieldwork data supplied by Ministry of Education Headquarters, Secondary Schools Section.

Fieldwork data indicates that many of the males are science teachers - a negative influence for girls as illustrated earlier. At this level male teachers also dominate as heads of subjects. Only in one mixed school and one girls' school were there more women heads of subjects than men. One girls' school had only one woman, (for Home Management) among 15 men heads of department . Fieldwork data revealed the same trend with regard to "other responsibilities", where male teachers dominated except in one girls' school. These responsibilities

include patrons of school clubs: Drama, Science and Wild life, Debating, etc.; Careers Guidance, Co-ordination of timetables or examinations, and class teachers.

Table 10.14 shows that less than 10% of secondary school heads are women.

Table 10.14: HEADSHIP OF GOVERNMENT-AIDED SECONDARY SCHOOLS (1991)

Mixed Schools	Men	434
	Women	22
Girls' Schools	Men	20
	Women	26
Total		502

Note: No woman headed a boys' only school

Source: Compiled from school lists supplied by Ministry of Education Headquarters, Secondary Schools Section.

Fieldwork returns further confirmed that governance of these schools is dominated by men whether they be girls' schools or mixed. Membership of Board of Governors, and PTA Executive Committees (Table 10.14) showed that it was only in one girls' school that females outnumbered men (by one). Women form about 10% of such committees on average. In one mixed school, all 13 members were males.

Evidence given above shows that Ugandan girls go through secondary schooling seeing men in charge of the whole school system, as teachers, managers and policy-makers. When this issue was explored at higher education level, similar results were received. For each institution gender balance in staffing (academic and administrative) and governance (in academic work and policy-making) were examined. A summary of the results is presented in table 10.15.

Table 10.15: FEMALE PERCENTAGE OF LEADERSHIP IN SAMPLE HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS

Institution	Academic Staff	Senior Administrative staff	Academic Committees	General Governance
Makerere	13	30	9	9
UTC, Elgon	3	4	13	13
NTC, Kakoba	15	20	22	14
ITEK	28	17	15	11
Bukalasa	35	20	30	13
IPA	13	27	5	0
NCBS	28	7	18	15
UCC, Pakwach	15	20	29	23
UPK	3	10	9	0
NTC, Nkozi	32	20	25	18
Nkumba College	29	30	14	15

Source: Compiled from fieldwork data supplied by Registrars of sample Institutions, 1991.

In some cases the table shows relatively high percentages, but on scrutiny the actual work involved shows a different picture. At NTC Kakoba, and Bukalasa College for instance, the only senior Administrator is a Warden of the girls' hostel. For academic staff, women occupy lower ranks, e.g. at IPA, Pakwach or Makerere University. Technical institutions were almost devoid of women. Important Committees like Council, Senate, or Finance have few or in some institutions no females, all indicating that women are responsible for making very few decisions in such institutions.

The issue of role models was further investigated through a gender sensitive analysis of staffing at the headquarters of the Ministry of Education, where women make about 28% of senior administrative and professional staff (Appendix 6.21). The summary, however, does not clearly bring out major imbalances. For example, the two Commissioners and all the sixteen Assistant Commissioners who head all the professional major divisions of the Ministry are men. Only "Special Education" was headed by a woman and presently that is not an active unit of the Ministry.

This section illustrated that although women are an essential part of the educational system, it is so male-dominated that those who are involved do not

fully identify with some aspects of its professional life, particularly at leadership level. Girls are therefore deprived of the examples and support they would otherwise derive from female higher participation rates within the system.

10.5 LACK OF CAREERS GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING

Proposition No 11

The existing official system for careers guidance and counselling at secondary school level is inadequate, rendering girls more ill-prepared than boys, who already have better chances of entering higher education.

Chapter 5 revealed the inadequacy of careers guidance and counselling systems in developing countries. It emphasised the importance of school as a vital agent, since families and the general public lack major basic forms of communication that would reinforce school experiences. Evidence gathered for this study shows that Ugandan schools are not well equipped to provide general education. It is estimated that only 15% of the required school textbooks are available in an average school (MOE Paper 1990). In addition Chapter three illustrated the minimal sources of information and amenities available to the Ugandan society - use of mass media, clubs and associations, a situation made worse by low literacy rates. Home-based sources of information are limited - few people can afford radio sets, newspapers circulate around district towns only and television service is available to a small percentage of the urban population. The system of careers guidance and counselling is discussed at two levels - the centralised Ministry of Education input, and institutional input.

Firstly, the Careers Guidance and Counselling Unit of the Ministry of Education was established in 1964, to facilitate the "Ugandanisation" of personnel in the employment sector. This was to be achieved through providing students with information on employment, further training, raising awareness about their capabilities and providing relevant knowledge to students, teachers and parents. The service had a well-planned programme to achieve its goals, but as the current Head of the Unit explains, numerous problems have prevented it from growing to maturity. The Unit consists of three senior staff members and is too financially constrained to reach many schools. The impression one gets is that it only has the capacity to distribute application forms to higher training institutions. Secondly, at school level, a teacher is normally selected to provide this service, in addition to his/her teaching load. In some schools, particularly day schools, no one is in

charge (Kyobe 1989 and Kasente 1983). Normally the service is limited to ensuring that students properly complete application forms to higher institutions. Some few schools, particularly those around Kampala and the bigger urban centres invite special speakers to address upper classes. Even fewer schools organise careers' days, when parents and students are informed about appropriate courses and occupations. Since the Central Unit lacks the necessary resources, it is up to each school to initiate its own programmes.

Kasente's (1983) study of several schools around Kampala pointed to the inadequacy of career guidance, and seminars for careers' teachers, organised by ACFODE (1990c) and The Uganda Association of University Women (UAUW 1991) confirmed this through proceedings of a bigger seminar for teachers from 23 schools from all over Uganda. At University level communication with new students reveals lack of general knowledge on careers. The researcher's personal experience of over 10 years' in administration of University student affairs confirms this. Makerere's regular visits to schools ended in the 1970s.

In order to find out the effectiveness of the current system within sample institutions, the questionnaire asked students what career guidance they received. 70% (251 respondents) reported that the service existed in their institutions. When asked further to state who actually provided the service to individual students, only 80 students responded. 68% of them had received guidance from careers teachers, 8.5% from other teachers, 3.5% from fathers, 1.4% from mothers and 13.5% from other sources and 5.3% from no-one (students questionnaire numbers 19 and 20). This reveals that guidance and counselling draws a lot from the school system. Schools are expected to provide the service, but information indicates that they lack resources to provide the service at the required level. Findings also reveal several general short comings. The service is not sufficiently appreciated and is given low priority officially (EPRC 1989, Commissioner for Education 1991, and Head of Unit at Headquarters). Lack of finances limits the spread of information, visits to schools, publication of college/school prospectuses etc.

There is lack of Ugandan-based literature on careers guidance and counselling as an information service or as a discipline. A handful of publications have only recently come out (Magala 1991, Rotary Club 1992, Bagatya 1992). So far such publications can only benefit a few urban users.

Career counselling is virtually non-existent. It has been shown that girls need to be drawn more into mathematics, science and technology-based courses than has been the case hitherto. Only specific action can attract this clientele and bring about change. Counselling, in this case would involve, among other things, efforts to interest girls in such subjects and courses, in addition to informing them about future prospects. Kyobe (1989) found that there was no scheme either in technical institutions or in secondary schools to interest girls into non-traditional fields.

Social guidance is a wider field which goes beyond information about careers. It would include counselling in use of leisure time, personal development, study skills etc., but huge gaps were observed by Kasente (1983) and Katusabe (1991). ACFODE (1990c) revealed the need to bridge the gap between school and home-based counselling. Many aspects which fall under the general title of family life education are left in "no man's land". Schools expect families to provide this information and parents expect schools to do the same. There is also need to raise girls' awareness about the situation of women as outlined in Chapter three.

This chapter demonstrates that Ugandan girls face stronger institutional barriers than boys. A balance has not been found between their initial curriculum, which was home-based and today's purely academic one but where they do not fully participate. They are more likely to choose "Arts" options, thereby reducing their own chances of wider options in technical and science-based courses. At secondary school level, they are not full participants in mixed institutions where they remain isolated. Day schools present greater obstacles to them than their brothers. Girls are more likely to drop-out of secondary school, or to leave after 'O'-Level. By the time they reach higher education entry level, they are reduced in numbers and yet have to face further filtering. The whole educational system is male-dominated, in terms of students, teachers and managers. Girls therefore lack role-models to emulate or gain support from, and further lack adequate career guidance.

Chapter 11:
CONCLUSIONS

11.1 SUMMARY OF THESIS

This dissertation analyses barriers to women's access to higher education in Uganda. In the process, the dissertation provides evidence to show that girls and women are under-represented throughout the educational system, as students, teachers, staff and managers. It was demonstrated that these disparities become more evident as one goes up the educational ladder. A brief socio-economic overview of Uganda in Chapter 2 shows clearly the unequal distribution of natural resources and varied political and historical factors leading to uneven development. The result is a clear north-south divide, with the north showing more deprivation, but also better urban performance levels over rural areas nationwide. It was shown that the decline in the national economy for the last two decades makes it difficult to correct the original educational imbalances.

An extensive situation analysis of Ugandan women was provided in Chapter 3 as a framework against which barriers to their attainment of higher education could be analysed, and emphasising the major aspects of life which affect their status. It was shown that the prevailing family structure and marriage patterns were disadvantageous to the woman. More importance is placed on the male child. Overemphasis on universal marriage presents obstacles to the female through widespread polygamous marriages, forced marriages and widow-inheritance. The widespread practice of high bridewealth payments leads to early marriages, and related direct and indirect forms of male dominance. Women's workload was shown to be heavier than that of men. In paid employment, it was demonstrated that women were clustered in semi-professional, clerical and service worker cadres as opposed to the managerial and professional decision-making and policy formulation cadres. Women were also found to operate more in the unprotected unpredictable informal sector. It was shown that Ugandan women have less access to credit, mainly because most of them cannot own land or other property. The analysis showed that high maternal mortality rates and low levels of child survival multiply women's obstacles. Women were shown not to enjoy the same legal status and protection as men, particularly with respect to personal laws relating to marriage, divorce, succession, or property ownership, whether under customary or statutory law. It was shown that women do not yet play a meaningful role in the political arena, although some foundation has been laid to integrate

them into the system. Access to sources of information was shown to be minimal - government and non-governmental efforts need better co-ordination, non-formal education is still underdeveloped, and there is lack of general information dissemination, in an overwhelmingly illiterate society. Overall, women's status was found to be lower than that of men and evidence of this is available in folklore, literature and the mass media. However, it was noted that a new era indicates hope for Ugandan women. New channels are being laid out for more involvement in political life, and economic activity, and the negative effects of civil turmoil and economic decline have been partly mitigated by some positive effects which have enabled women to enter non-traditional fields of trade and commerce. General awareness of gender inequality has increased, and this is an opportune time to investigate various possible solutions.

A theoretical background for the study is provided by a wide-ranging review of literature in Chapter 4, focusing on the developing world, but particularly on Sub-Saharan Africa, of which Uganda is part. A general discussion of the Women in Development (WID) literature illustrated that the great contribution women make to the development of their societies is not commensurate with the benefits they derive from it. This was demonstrated by an assessment of their role in agriculture, industry, money and finance, trade, science and technology. Evidence was provided to show the subtle ways in which men gain more from lucrative paid employment, and dominate in management and decision-making positions. It was argued that the development process necessitated a correction of this imbalance. Because education is accepted as a major lever in realising the goals of WID, the benefits of educating women were analysed, including improved maternal and child survival rates; lowering fertility rates; motivation to children's education; and various attitudinal changes for a better society. The usefulness of human capital theory and cost-benefit analysis as a decision-making tool was discussed and these concepts are used to clarify whether women's education should be regarded as an investment or consumption and to evaluate the economic gains from investing in women's education. Social theories of gender inequalities were reviewed, distinguishing between the natural and social explanations of inequality, and evidence of male-dominance-related gender ideologies, and differentiated gender roles were analysed to show how these can influence women's education.

This provided the background for a detailed analysis in Chapter 5 of general educational access factors, and a summary of the general debate on access based on equal rights, and international efforts already made to achieve this aim. Using

Hyde's (1991) classification, the major barriers to women's education were grouped and analysed under family, society and institutional factors. Chapter 6 builds on the literature review to provide a conceptual framework for the thesis and for the Ugandan case study in Chapters 8-10. Human capital concepts help to explain why women's education may not be considered a profitable investment in relation to that of men. Social theories of gender inequalities helped explain the persistent social, economic and political inequalities between men and women which have had negative influence on women's education. Family, social and institutional factors have affected the education of men and women differently, since it has been established that women's status is lower than that of men within most societies in Africa. The literature helped to identify research questions which aim to discover the forces that affect men and women differentially and which generate barriers to access to higher education.

The study combined survey and documentary analysis research methods to explore these barriers in Uganda. Chapter 7 describes the research methods and the sampling techniques, used to select four primary schools, sixteen secondary schools and eleven higher education institutions for the empirical data presented and analysed in Chapter 8-10. This selection ensured a range of institutions reflecting rural/urban; old/new; boarding/day; single-sex/mixed; private/ governmental; commercial; teacher training; technical; specialised training and university. Regional representation was also taken into account and the survey covered fourteen out of thirty-six districts. A total of 648 questionnaires were received from a cross-section of the Ugandan population consisting of students, institutional staff, parents and "Opinion Leaders" within the community. Interviews with selected officials and policy makers at all levels of the educational system were carried out. Documentary evidence was obtained from government records, reports of commissions, policy statements, the mass media; general textbooks; previous research work; and assorted data compiled from returns from sample institutions. Data analysis combined qualitative and quantitative methods. Detailed empirical data from secondary sources and from the survey were analysed in order to explore the research questions posed in Chapter 6 under the classification of familial, societal and institutional influences. Only a selection of these factors could be investigated within the scope of this study.

11.2 CLASSIFICATION OF FACTORS INFLUENCING AND DETERMINING ACCESS

Familial factors consisted of parental attitudes, socio-economic status of the family and division of labour. Ample evidence from official reports, previous researches and the mass media was provided to confirm male child preference by both male and female parents. It was shown that children are valued for their instrumental capacities rather than psychological fulfilment or other roles. A male child is considered more important since he will help to perpetuate the family line, which also explains why women are generally denied inheritance rights, and why women are considered to belong to the families into which they marry.

The study did not directly solicit parental attitudes through questionnaires for fear that some parents may not freely express their views to a female interviewer. However, when parents were asked to state the single biggest obstacle to women's education, parental attitudes was most frequently listed (44%). In addition, parents in the study sample made it clear that they regarded girls' education as being mainly beneficial to their future families and children, to girls as individuals, and finally to their parents, in that order. This is likely to influence parental views and decisions with regard to girls' education, and is very important since the issue of who will gain from the investment can be a great determinant of parental perceptions of the investment value of education for girls.. Those who are seen by parents to gain most from investment in girls' education in fact contribute least, in terms of cost. The result is therefore likely to be that parents will see less cause for investment when profits accrue to someone else. Girls' education will therefore be seen in terms of consumption rather than investment, when they are weighing advantages against disadvantages of educating girls and evaluating returns to their investment, and who will benefit from it.

Evidence was produced to show that when formal education was first introduced, parents were anxious to ensure that girls keep to the traditional norms of behaviour, cultural values, food and sexual taboos, and they were afraid that schools could easily undermine these values. These expectations are still evident. An assessment of this was confirmed by responses from a previous investigation of male university undergraduate students, and more widely from student and 'opinion' leader respondents in this study. Highly educated women were thought to be argumentative, conceited, and badly behaved. All this indicates that parental attitudes are likely to be influenced by beliefs and practices which place lower

premium on the female. The sample of parents and "opinion leaders" contained a good proportion of highly educated men and women, and the negative views observed about highly educated women are not encouraging. Parents are inevitably geared to constantly weigh the value of investing in girls' education in relation to that of boys. In this case higher education attainment becomes a disadvantage, further enticing parents into choosing between girls' and boys' education.

The second barrier analysed was the socio-economic status of the family. This was carried out at two levels. The first focused on the ability of the family to meet costs of education. An analysis of the national economy based on official surveys and individual studies showed wide disparities between regions and between rural and urban areas. Evidence was also provided to show that the majority of Ugandan parents could not afford to educate their children in the better quality boarding schools, whether at primary or secondary school levels. Eighty percent of parents fell into this category, while only five percent could manage easily. Evidence was provided to show that those with higher income spent proportionately more on education, and given the low average income in Uganda this suggests that children of poor parents were under-educated. An attempt to assess parental income through questionnaire did not yield fruit as many respondents were not willing to answer this question. Those who did, clearly understated their income. However, the researcher's analysis of the socio-economic background of Makerere University students by father's occupation showed that the peasant group was proportionately under-represented. A smaller number of girls came from the peasant group, compared to boys. Girls were most heavily represented in the professional, business and farmers' cadres - all pointing to the fact that the socio-economic status of the family mattered more for girls than for boys. In addition, parental level of education of the students in the study sample was analysed as this may also have bearing on ability or willingness to pay fees. An analysis of parental level of education of the students in the study sample showed that female students were more likely to have better educated fathers, and mothers. This supported the above view that the socioeconomic status of the family is more influential in enabling girls more than boys to enter higher education. Lack of money for school fees was rated highest among the causes of school drop out, by schools in the study sample. It was also rated highest among the 'perceived' causes of drop-out by parents and 'opinion' leaders. Parents are frequently faced with the problem of making a choice in financing their children's education. Since girls are considered to be of less instrumental value, they

become the inevitable victims of "cost-benefit analysis", carried out at the family level.

The division of labour within the family structure is believed to be a strong barrier against women's education. The situation analysis of Ugandan women and the WID literature showed that women carry a heavier workload than men. Concrete statistical evidence from previous studies confirmed this. Girls and mothers were shown to do more indoor work than boys and fathers. For day school pupils, in particular, this was found to disrupt schooling as a recent research in two Ugandan districts confirmed. Time and resources did not permit this kind of study at national level, but, views of parents and "Opinion Leaders" were sought through questionnaire, by requesting them to list the types of chores they would allocate to their sons and daughters. The traditionally accepted roles of cooking and cleaning fell more to girls than boys. Student respondents were also asked to indicate which chore was suited to husband or wife or both, according to a provided list. Roles of child care, cooking, cleaning, and laundry fell onto the woman. Overall, a greater load fell on to the woman. Apart from the actual workload, the role identified for women lowers the value of women's education especially when combined with other societal factors discussed in the next section. Although evidence was provided from other studies to show this imbalance, on the whole, parents and "opinion leaders" in this study distributed work more evenly than is usually the case, probably indicating that this was a progressive group or they were describing the ideal situation.

The three factors investigated under the family category showed that girls are relatively disadvantaged compared with boys. It also shows that when parents in Uganda are forced by shortage of money to make a choice as to which of their children should consume the scarce resources for education, they are likely to favour their sons. The factors advanced in this section, combine to ensure that in such a situation the girl will become the loser, since the benefits of education are perceived as less significant for a girl, and accruing ultimately to her husband's family rather than her own.

Chapter 9 showed that societal factors influenced males and females' education differentially. Marriage and family systems and practices affected girls more adversely than boys. The low esteem in which an unmarried woman is held by society at large was stressed, with evidence, in the analysis of women's situation. Earlier evidence from educational researchers and commentators as

well as official documents showed that overemphasis on universal marriage reduced enrolment rates for girls more than boys. This is reflected in the occurrence of early marriages, where statistics show that the national average age at first marriage has only risen from 15 in 1937 to 17 in 1989. Although findings from questionnaire returns for this study raised this average age, it was not high enough to ensure that the average girl would acquire higher education. Most of the three groups of respondents preferred girls to get married between the ages of 18 and 20, and boys between the ages of 25-30. Early marriages mean that girls cannot participate in higher education. The average age at which Ugandan students join Makerere University, for instance, is age 20 or higher for many rural students. Society, therefore, virtually excludes girls from higher education by its insistence on early marriage. Researches in two districts, cited in this study showed that parents regard basic education as adequate for girls. It has also illustrated that the kind of occupations respondents identified for girls generally do not require higher education. Expectations and practices show that boys are more identified with higher education than girls.

This study demonstrated that payment of bridewealth is a deeply embedded customary practice in most of Ugandan communities, as government reports, early writers and most recent researches of the 1990s show. Responses from the study sample survey showed that the practice is not only considered acceptable, but that it should be allowed to continue. The main argument cited by respondents in support for this was that payment of bridewealth ensured marriage security. This reflects again the importance society attaches to the institution of marriage, but there was also evidence to show that many of such marriages last because the high bridewealth paid cannot be easily refunded by parents. Either way, the practice is not helpful with regard to attitudes to women and particularly girls' education. Parents have to ensure that nothing interferes with procurement of this 'wealth', and this at times means withdrawal of girls from school. Though this is not so often directly stated as the main reason, it is likely to be a major factor affecting drop out by girls. Bridewealth is also regarded as a source of income for fathers or male relatives, and therefore, like any other source of income, it must be utilised at a time when it can earn optimum profits, and total loss must be avoided. When parents get into financial problems, they can raise funds through marrying off their daughters. Not only does the practice become a direct educational barrier, but it also devalues the whole being of the female child, anc distorts perceptions of costs and benefits of education for girls and the notion of investment. There was no recent research to confirm or refute earlier suggestions that a girl who had

completed the basic level of education fetched double or more the amount of bridewealth payable for an illiterate girl. It is a well-known fact however, that in areas where high bridewealth is paid, education is often cited as a basis for demanding higher dues. One would therefore have expected that this would serve as an incentive for parents to ensure that their daughters attain extra education if the benefits of higher bridewealth outweigh the costs of extra education. It is clear that this is not the case, since girls' enrolment and attainment levels still lag behind those of boys. This may mean that parents judge that gains in bridewealth are not sufficient or because higher education is thought to involve risks as well as costs. Bridewealth payment is therefore still a strong barrier to women's attainment of higher education, particularly so as it was shown that even the women who are in a position to influence change in this direction are resigned to the fact that it would be unrealistic to call for its total ban, presently.

The harsh traditional punishment for pregnant unmarried girls is no longer followed to the letter, but pregnancy is still regarded as an embarrassment to the family and must be avoided. It is also a loss to the father (or male guardian) since less bridewealth is likely to be paid then. Due to inadequate record keeping systems, schools in the study sample could not provide exact statistics on school-girl pregnancies. However, this was rated fourth in a list of eight most frequent causes of school drop-out. If this is combined with early marriage, listed as fifth on the same list, pregnancy and marriage present a strong barrier. Only a few small-scale researches on this topic have been carried out, but if this evidence is combined with the regular complaints voiced in newspapers, it suggests that it is a significant problem for many girls. It was pointed out from previous research and by schools in the sample study that there is no official arrangement whatsoever to assist girls who get expelled from school because of pregnancy or abortion. It is also known that the Ugandan school syllabus does not include sex education or the wider subject of family life education. Returns from higher education institutions showed that even at this level, pregnant women are expelled from some institutions. For many pregnant women, at whichever level of education, dropping out means the end of formal education since the chances of rejoining this narrowly defined system of education are minimal.

The influence of marriage, payment of bridewealth, and the need to avoid pregnancies outside marriage combine to present one of the strongest, if not the strongest barrier to women's participation in higher education. These factors also reinforce other barriers, such as the limited prospects for employment of women.

Accepted gender roles mean that girls have to become wives and mothers, rather than paid workers. A survey of the Ugandan employment sector confirms studies elsewhere that women are clustered in semi-professional, clerical service and related cadres as compared to managerial, professional or highly paying and decision making occupations. Historical evidence showed that since women were not expected to become chiefs or clerks or permanent teachers - jobs available to Ugandan educated men in the beginning, it was assumed that they needed minimum education.

The discussion on institutional factors in Chapter 10 showed that the curriculum followed by most girls reflect the above-mentioned views. Women were expected to get married and not to be engaged in paid employment. This study tried to explore attitudes and expectations regarding employment by requesting all respondents to indicate which occupations they believed were suited to men and women. The results showed that women are expected to be mostly employed in the nurse/midwifery clerical/secretarial occupations. Although the teaching profession was highlighted for both men and women, women were more identified with the lower level of primary school teaching. Overall the medical profession was the most popular professional occupation for both men and women, followed by that of lawyer. These expectations influence subject choice at the secondary school level. For example, the choice of the medical profession for women is reflected in the tendency for girls to choose biological rather than physical science subjects. Girls who perform best in the arts group, mainly from the better quality schools, tend to enter the selective legal profession. Preferred occupations for boys and girls, coupled with early marriage requirements, mean that men are more identified with higher education than women and societal encouragement to this end is provided in a variety of ways.

Evidence from the study of the Ugandan economy and earlier analysis of the educational system showed unequal educational opportunities nationwide. The analysis of the socio-economic family status also showed economic gaps between rural and urban families. This means that a parent with less resources will again be forced into making a choice as to which of the children should be kept in school. Documentary evidence from official reports and individual researchers show that more support was given to the economically better-off areas, particularly Buganda area. This situation still prevails as the distribution of fully-aided and partially-aided institutions illustrate. Such areas still send more students to higher education institutions, as an analysis of university admissions showed. This seems

to have stimulated demand for more education since these areas contain more of the private institutions. Deliberate official efforts to reduce the disparities since the 1980s have not corrected the problem. This has only resulted in the creation of lower quality institutions. Girls' education was spread at a slower pace than that of boys nationwide, and recent efforts to open up more institutions has meant that many girls' schools fall into the newer category of poorer quality schools. Probably because girls are not expected to enter the A-level section in big numbers, it was found, through a classification of A-level institutions, that girls' only schools are limited to smaller intake than boys' schools or mixed schools. It was also demonstrated that within the girls' group, Buganda area was and still is better served than other parts. It was also explained how Moslem girls lagged behind others because for a long time educational facilities were only provided by Christian missions. All these have presented further barriers to females as a group.

A combination of all these issues clearly shows that official policy has not been addressing equity issues. Evidence from official reports and development plans shows that for a long time, concern was for production of high level manpower. Because the national economy has been declining, the manner in which education is financed has also become more important. Official records showed that less and less money is being spent on education, both in terms of recurrent and development expenditure. Uganda now devotes a lower proportion of GDP to education than the average of Sub-Saharan Africa. An increasing share of the educational bill now falls more and more onto the parent, as evidence on PTA roles showed. Parents, again, are forced by the system to address the problem of making a choice about which child to educate. It was demonstrated that making higher education free, while expecting parents to pay for primary and secondary education cements the path to an elitist system of education, especially in times of economic austerity. Unit costs were shown to be almost two hundred times more at university than at primary school levels. The result is that at lower levels, parents are so burdened that they are forced to make a choice, instead of educating all their children. At higher education level, unit costs are so high that the state cannot afford to expand, and so some eligible applicants cannot enter. Because girls face other societal barriers, such as marriage and bridewealth an elite as opposed to a mass system of education further reduces their chances of attaining higher education.

Higher education was originally not planned for women. Early reports showed that admission of women to higher education was a struggle and evidence

pointed to lack of support and enthusiasm on the part of the government institutional leadership. An example of this is the manner in which accommodation for women students has been provided - frequent underestimation of the need, followed by limited expansion and/or improvisation. It was also shown from government reports that all important official studies on higher education have never addressed gender inequality within that sector, perhaps because it is assumed that girls do not require special attention once they enter higher education. Access barriers are only glossed over under this assumption. This is reflected in the fact that to date, the system operates as if there is no gender inequality in education. Official reports show that as early as the 1930's, efforts to institute specific regulation concerning girls' education, and to plan for them under a separate unit were proposed, but later dropped on the pretext that it was not necessary to have a dual system. Fieldwork interviews for this study, with those in authority, showed that this was still the stand of government. Areas where gender-sensitivity could improve the situation for girls and women are not exploited. Scholarships/grants have only recently woken up to this requirement, thanks to donor pressure. Makerere University's device to admit more women has received widespread public opposition. There is no acceptance, although there may be some realisation, that a revolutionary push for the girls has to be made to enable them to catch-up with the boys.

Institutional characteristics were found to affect girls and boys differently. An analysis of subject offerings, and option arrangements at secondary school level showed them to be a limiting factor for both boys and girls. It reduces chances for all candidates, as it leads to specialisation and limited choice at higher education entry. This study has, however, identified areas which were more disadvantageous to girls. The study showed from official records in particular that before Uganda's independence, the curriculum offered to girls aimed at fitting them to the needs of the home only. This constituted the initial barrier to their access to higher education. Boys were following a different curriculum. When this approach was changed in the early 1960's, particular attention to girls' education was abandoned - creating different kinds of barriers. The system still contains 'boys' subjects like metal work, wood work, or carpentry and 'girls' subjects like home management, or foods and nutrition. 'Boys' subjects are not offered in girls' schools and in mixed schools girls are expected and encouraged to take up their particular options. Many of the 'girls' subjects are not offered at A-level, and so carry little weight in a system solely based on passing examinations. The "business studies" group of subjects - shorthand, typewriting and office training which were introduced to

diversify girls' options terminate at O-level. An analysis of national examination results for four years showed that these subjects not only show high rates of failure, but are taken up by very few candidates. This implies that little attention is paid to them as they are not offered at A-level, and the elementary level that the students achieve requires more training, before possible employment. This has therefore not really diversified opportunities. Evidence shows that girls can and still do concentrate on arts, rather than science subjects. The grouping is therefore not effective enough to encourage and channel girls out of the traditional fields of study. The fact that many rural-based schools cannot offer courses in practical science - physics, chemistry, biology, but can only offer general science, reduces the possible number of girls further. This is a barrier for girls since science students can more easily enter higher education with lower grades, as Makerere University statistics illustrated. This specifically limited girls' chances of entering technical institutions, where they are least represented. Through this process too, girls are kept out of the field of agriculture, where they should be featuring most, since Ugandan women perform most agricultural chores. Admission records from other higher education institutions further confirm that deprivation.

Chapter 10 also demonstrates that the types of institutions at secondary school level benefit boys more than girls. Mixed schooling at this level dominates the sector, but by some unwritten rule, girls do not constitute more than one third of total enrolment, and they therefore get easily kept out of good mixed schools. Evidence from previous research and early official reports indicated that girls did not perform as well as boys in mixed schools. Reports from sample schools confirmed that only a handful of girls achieve the same level of attainment as boys. An analysis of UNEB O-level examination results for five years by the researcher showed that single-sex schools performed better than mixed schools. A few girls' schools showed consistent top-level performance. Although location of the school and other factors which contribute to school quality cannot render this evidence completely conclusive, a combination of various factors point to girls' disadvantages under mixed schooling. Past records and reports from schools indicated that boys and girls have not integrated yet, under mixed schooling. Early and recent clashes between the sexes were listed. Hostility of boys to girls is still evident. In order to test public opinion about types of institutions, parents and "Opinion Leaders" in the study sample were asked to indicate their preference for mixed or single-sex schools, and day or boarding schools. There was overwhelming support for mixed schools, whether day or boarding, although more respondents preferred mixed day schools. This was rather surprising since it is

well-known that girls' performance is usually better at boarding single-sex schools. The explanation seems to lie in the higher cost of maintaining a child in boarding school at this level, within an ever increasing inflationary environment. Current official documents, confirmed by interviews with high ranking officials, show that the current policy is to encourage day-mixed schooling. Indeed government has already reduced contributions to boarding schools in order to assist day schools more. This is a bad omen as far as girls' access to higher education is concerned. The disadvantages of mixed schools, combined with those of day schools, especially the unconducive environment for serious study, condemns girls at two levels. UNEB results analysed in this study showed that overall girls' performed less well than boys at secondary school level, and therefore efforts should be aiming at reducing these gaps and not reducing their chances further.

This study also produced wide-ranging evidence to show that the higher education sector is highly restrictive, and self-limiting. This creates barriers for both boys and girls in some respects, but there are certain factors that are gender specific or which particularly affect girls. Evidence reflected through enrolment capacities show that higher education institutions are small in size and are not likely to expand in the near future. This may intensify competition for places which may further reduce chances for girls. Returns from government departmental institutions show that girls' entry to many of these institutions is limited by the shortage of residential accommodation for girls, but sometimes this is used as an excuse or pretext to restrict girls' entry. Girls' chances therefore are not fully utilised or exploited. This partly arises from the fact that most of these institutions are government owned, and fully financed, but in fact under-funded because the national economy cannot support them fully under prevailing economic circumstances. It was also demonstrated that the filtering process from one stage to the next, creates an elitist rather than mass system of education. Using one examination, the system becomes very selective at entry to secondary school, with those who perform best, irrespective of any other factors, such as location and disparities in institutional quality gaining entry to the best schools. The same procedure is followed at entry to the A-level sector, and this becomes more complex and more selective at entry into higher education. The result is that repetition rates at each major stage are high. Yet, family and societal factors already pointed out, militate against frequent repetitions by girls. This is particularly so in rural areas where girls are more likely to be induced into marriage.

The under-representation of girls and women throughout the education system as students, staff or managers constitute a barrier to their advancement to higher education through lack of encouragement and support, as well as identification with would-be role models. Statistical evidence was provided to show that at all levels girls/women were outnumbered by boys/men as students. This was particularly so, at secondary school and higher education levels. Girls were specially under-represented in technical institutions and science-based courses at university level, such as engineering. Women were comparatively better represented in teacher training institutions. An interesting finding was that girls outnumbered boys at the one private higher education commercial institution sampled for study. The reason for this was not clear, but it may reflect less selectivity and the effect of financial ability than at government institutions. Evidence showed that women teachers were fewer than men, forming 17% at secondary school level. Within higher education, the numbers were again small, with least representation in technical institutions. Even in girls' only schools, male teachers formed a substantial number, sometimes making up over half of teaching staff in the sample schools. Men were found to head almost half of girls' only schools, whereas women only headed five percent of approximately 500 government-aided secondary schools.

For higher education evidence from sample institutions showed that women were under-represented in the administrative cadre. In some cases, such women were employed as wardens of women's hostels only. For all sample institutions, the study analysed gender representation on governing bodies, and important institutional committees and boards. It was found that most of such bodies had one or two women members (some had none), but the ratio was such that these remained at token level. Staffing at the Ministry of Education headquarters showed that women comprised one quarter of the administrative staff. However, there were vital positions, such as that of education officer, where women were virtually absent. This was mainly explained by respondents as unwillingness on the part of women to take up such responsibilities. They did not mention family and societal pressures which have kept women out of the managerial positions of responsibility.

The institutional factors presented as obstacles in women's route to higher education are compounded by an inadequate and ineffective system of careers guidance and counselling. Although government has a unit to oversee this service, it has no financial and human resources to run it at national level. At school level, it was found out that this is an ad hoc service, entirely dependent on individual

schools' capacity and interest. This service is necessary as there is little information dissemination at national level. School/college prospectuses, handbooks or even brochures are not available. Information on general careers is not locally published. This partly explains why girls do not apply to enter Agricultural Colleges, the Flying School, Survey institutions, etc. Careers teachers in schools who could assemble such information cannot do so since they carry a normal teaching load. It was also found that only careers information was being disseminated by the few schools who did, but counselling and social guidance were not addressed. The inadequacy of this service is a strong barrier to women's education because official channels are almost the only source of information for most students. For all intents and purposes, Ugandan society is still at the edge of the oral stage. Circulation of newspapers, radio and television services are minimal and there is little local published general educational material. An appropriate system will enable girls to enter non-traditional careers, and to begin to tackle other barriers presented under family and societal factors. It would enable girls and women to look beyond the horizons that their own communities have carved out for them.

An analysis of educational barriers deriving from institutional characteristics show that these reinforce familial and societal barriers. A positive illustration of this can be derived from Buganda's case. This region is comparatively economically better off, and received more support initially than others; moreover the family structure and marriage pattern which allow for female ownership of land and property, and demand low and unrefundable bridewealth has meant that customary obligations present fewer educational barriers for Baganda women than in other parts. Such societal factors must be taken into account since they supplement other factors such as availability of institutions.

This study has provided evidence to support the various propositions presented and analysed as causes of gender inequality in the Ugandan system of education. It has also shown that many of these access factors affect boys and girls differently. As a result, fewer women than men manage to reach higher education. This leads us to assess whether the general research questions of the study have been answered.

11.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS REVISITED

This section analyses further the research questions presented in order to find out whether the study has been able to answer them:

(i) Does Hyde's three-fold classification clarify and capture the main factors influencing and determining educational access for women in Uganda?

Hyde's classification of familial, societal, and institutional barriers provides a useful general framework within which access factors can be analysed. It provides a systematic identification of access factors. The classification enables the investigator to bring together scattered and fragmentary factors of access into one framework. This provides a sound basis for initial investigational exploration.

As a device specifically applied to Sub-Saharan Africa, this classification requires further emphasis and highlights in some vital areas of analysis. Firstly, any consideration of gender inequalities in education in Sub-Saharan Africa must address the status of women, because this has great bearing on each of the three components of the classification. Using Uganda's case study, it was possible to show that the low status women enjoy creates a general *laissez faire* approach to the whole question of lower female participation rates in education. The lower status of women which is reflected in their position within the family structure, their heavier workload, discriminatory laws, lack of economic independence, lower access to information etc., means that equally less attention will be paid to their education, whether at family or societal levels. This low status further limits women's awareness and the urge for higher educational attainment. Such a situation is not a stimulant to higher educational achievement or attainment. In such a situation educational motivation is minimal or completely lacking.

Secondly, Hyde's classification does not adequately explore the effects of the family structure and marriage patterns within an African setting. This study has shown that this is a very significant influence, and in some cases a direct determinant of educational access. The lineage and inheritance systems make the male child more important than the female child. Not only is universal marriage the norm, but it is overemphasised as a requirement for every woman. This reduces girls' and parental aspirations to higher educational attainment. Universal marriage, coupled with high bridewealth payments lead to early marriages thereby leading to high school-girl drop-out rates. However, this explanation has to go

beyond the mere recognition that early marriages exist and lead to lower female educational attainment. It is necessary to assess the extent to which customs and practices relating to marriage and the family structure are valued and/or adhered to by the various communities. Low status, and the family structure and marriage reinforce institutional barriers. They influence curriculum offerings, occupation and employment chances and expectations. The importance of the social structure must therefore be given due attention.

Thirdly, Hyde's framework does not highlight gender imbalance in the management of the education system as a serious access factor. This study demonstrated that this served not only to limit the availability of role models for girls but also the extent to which women are able to make policy and take decisions about female education - as head teachers, college principals, members of governing boards and committees, or general administrators within the educational structure. Hyde's classification points to lack of role models for girls in school text books and related literature. This study considers this to be important too, but did not explore the issue mainly because in a Sub-Saharan educational environment, the urgent requirement is how to enrol more women into education, first, after which such refinements can then be considered.

This study also identified societal and institutional educational support through information dissemination, careers and social guidance and counselling which Hyde's classification does not highlight. This study has shown that this service is essential for an environment where literacy rates are low, communication forms poor, and where there is dire need for published educational and other literature. Lack of information constitutes deprivation in this case.

In general, however, Hyde's classification is applicable to an analysis of barriers to women's education in Uganda. Although it does not capture all barriers, the framework offers signals to possible areas of omission.

(ii) Does the human capital view of "investment in education" help to explain decisions about girls' education in Uganda?

Empirical evidence in this study illustrates that with regard to women's education, the concept of education as an investment is implicit in parental decisions. At birth, the male child is more valued than the female child. As both children grow up, their future roles are evaluated and their positions in society are

weighed, that of the female ending up lower. Because future roles are defined, investment in the education of each of these children has to be assessed according to expected benefits. The fact that the female will not remain a full member of the family remains a constant and strong factor in this assessment. The likely type of employment, and the life she will lead will show that investing in the education of the male child is more profitable. Since most Ugandan families are financially constrained, the high cost of education constantly calls for making a choice, on the part of the parents. Institutional barriers influence such investment choices. For example, the highly selective system of education leads to repetitions in order to qualify to enter a higher stage. For a girl, the many family and societal demands will rule her out of such frequent class repetitions. Institutional barriers will also mean that parents will make no special efforts to ensure that girls get to higher education, in the same way as they do for boys. The study also illustrates that the state has always acted as if girls' education was being weighed against that of boys and found to be less profitable and planned for accordingly.

In as far as the human capital view of investment in education calls for consideration of costs and benefits involved, the approach helps to explain decisions about girls' education. It shows that parents and society generally behave as if they evaluate the "costs" and "benefits" of educating girls. Advantages and disadvantages of investing in girls' education are weighted against those of boys. It helps us to focus on separate influences from the family, society or institutions as factors of access. The approach illuminates our understanding of expenditure on education, and whether this is regarded as investment or consumption. Given the social structure and marriage patterns prevailing in Uganda, parents regard a girl as an investment good. She must marry at a time when she will secure optimum bridewealth, and her security in marriage has to be ensured, even if she may not necessarily be assured of a good job in the labour market. Although it is not the only explanation of low rates of female participation in education, the human capital view of investment in education provides a unifying explanation to barriers to and determinants of girls' education.

However, this study has demonstrated that for the Ugandan case (or similar societies), human capital theory cannot be applied in the conventional manner of assessing educational costs and benefits through earnings in the labour market for the individual, taxation by the state or general estimation of "spill-over" benefits for society at large. In this case, the "cost-benefit analysis" is to ascertain who gains most from expenditure on a child's education. The issue is not whether the

educated woman earns more but to whom will the benefits accrue. This approach leads to valuation of the whole person. It has been demonstrated that the status of the Ugandan woman is low. It has also been shown that within the family structure and marriage patterns the male is accorded more importance and responsibility than the female. Every woman is expected to get married and become part of her husband's family. All these factors inevitably lead to an assessment of the value of the son or daughter, especially which one fulfils family and societal requirements and obligations. This will influence educational decisions so that in the event of inadequate resources, the boy will get more attention and financial support. Therefore, although the human capital approach provides a unifying framework for analysis of access factors and gender inequalities in education, it has to be reformulated in order to capture all "investment" and "consumption" aspects of education within the Ugandan setting. The importance attached to family and social structures, combined with women's lower status places significant influence on educational decisions, and calls for inclusion of these factors within the "investment" equation. This approach also helps to explain why the Ugandan state has so far not highlighted and exploited the vital social returns of investing in women's education. The Ugandan woman is still seen as fulfilling her role at family level and these benefits have not yet been extended to the larger societal arena.

11.4 STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF THE RESEARCH

(i) Strengths of the Research

This study has, for the first time, documented the extent of gender inequalities in education at national level in Uganda. Previous studies were limited in various ways. Some were impressionistic commentaries or observations. Others carried out research, but based on small localities, while others concentrated on one variable, but still with a limited local base. In recent years, more studies have focused on gender differences in performance in various subjects and fields of study. All these have used too limited a sample framework to portray a national picture. Much of the research material consists of under-graduate research papers and is constrained by technical and logistical problems. Some of the more extensive studies (undertaken over twenty years ago) were concerned with particular aspects of female education, such as social acceptance of formal education or the impact of a diversified curriculum introduced at one particular school, but do not include analyses of barriers to girls' education as such. In particular, no serious study has specifically addressed the higher education sector.

Secondly, this study has assembled fragmented and scattered research work which has hitherto been limited in circulation, either because reports have remained in the possession of the individual researchers or are just tucked away in some educational institution, public office or library, not in a form easily available for public reference. The study provides a useful bibliography for future researchers on the topic, thus helping to bridge the existing gap on local Ugandan literature.

Because of lack of a firm statistical base at national level, this research has involved extensive collection, processing and compiling of data from a wide range of sources, thus contributing to the provision of educational base-line information. Much of the statistical evidence in this study is derived from first-hand assorted raw data, not available in this form elsewhere.

This study identifies and highlights several factors that are not usually addressed or given due attention in investigating gender inequality in education. Firstly, the status of women, their position and regard within the family structure and the general society at large must be taken into consideration. If this status is lower than that of men, then inevitably less attention will be paid to their education. For instance, the patrilineal arrangements in the family structure in Uganda places more responsibility on the male child, and other arrangements are male-oriented to enable him to play this role, and to achieve in life. This arrangement is further influenced by marriage patterns and practices which emphasise universal marriage and early marriage, and these become barriers to girls' attainment of higher education. In particular, this study has pointed to the effect of bridewealth payment as a strong barrier to women's advancement to higher education. Its influence is both direct and indirect. Parents expect to procure bridewealth from their daughters. This has frequently led to early, or even under-age marriages, and in some cases girls are withdrawn from schools for this purpose. Procurement of bridewealth means that fathers must 'guard' their daughters, so that they get married at an opportune time, and above all not become pregnant before marriage as this reduces their value. As a result, not only does bridewealth act as an incentive to marry off girls early, but higher education presents risks which must be avoided, and the benefits of higher education in terms of future earning capacity have less influence with parents than the value of bridewealth that their daughters will fetch.

This study also provides a new interpretation of the concept of investment in education in the African context. Whereas the conventional manner has been to evaluate returns to education through earnings of the educated, this study has shown that in societies such as that of Uganda, other dimensions are important. The functional value of the individual is taken into account, her or his future role to the family, and the beneficiary of both direct and indirect returns from education are considered. Since social structures require every woman to get married and become part of her husband's family her functional value to her parents is perceived to be lower than that of her brother who is expected to continue the family line and look after parents in old age. Although it is recognised that education offers indirect benefits as well as direct benefits, these "externalities" or "spill-over" benefits are given less weight in Uganda because they will accrue to the husband's family, rather than the girl's parents, who must bear the costs of her education. The evaluation of costs and benefits by families in Uganda takes place within the much wider definition of extended family, rather than the nuclear family usually assumed in human capital theory.

Of course, it is accepted that there are other reasons for investing in children's education, such as parental love and desire to acquire what is best for children. This study suggests, however that parents and society behave as if they are weighing the 'costs' and 'benefits' of educating boys and girls, and that whoever brings in more 'profit' will receive higher investment. The human capital view of investment in education operating under circumstances of severe economic constraints, such as exist in Uganda, will inevitably lead to parents making choices about who to educate. This study therefore affirms that the human capital concept of investment in education provides a unifying explanation of barriers to women's education, illuminating various facets of these barriers, even though many of the barriers may not be viewed as primarily economic.

(ii) Weaknesses of the Research

In a national survey of this kind, one has to rely on using sampling as a method of investigation. In a country with so many regional socioeconomic variations and ethnic groupings, it would not be possible to fully capture all possible variables. In some cases, therefore, the study could only rely on somewhat inadequate statistical data, as it was not possible to explore in sufficient detail the extent of local/regional, or urban/rural differences. As a result, certain factors require further research in order to identify the extent of specific educational barriers to explore further the extent of regional or gender differences and suggest

areas for reform. Section 11.5 (i) below identifies some fruitful areas for such investigation.

Because this was an individual project, with a wide range of variables to consider, time could not permit a full enumeration of recommendations for reform. Indeed, the importance of this is under-scored by the 294 responses to an open-ended question in this survey, concerning women's education, which indicate that a cross-section of society is aware of gender inequalities in education and has suggestions towards reform. A follow-up investigation is envisaged to be carried out within Uganda in conjunction with other influential individuals and groups including NGOs, women's groups, local communities and other relevant agencies, in order to suggest feasible strategies for changing public attitudes and overcoming obstacles.

11.5 TOWARDS THE FUTURE

This section briefly reviews the need to carry on further research and suggest areas of concern. It also provides a framework for future policy and action. This study has found that any research work or policy formulation procedure will require better record keeping by all educational institutions to provide data on which various decisions can be based. This is lacking throughout the country.

(i) Future Research

This study has demonstrated that girls' education lags behind that of boys in Uganda. It analysed the major obstacles to women's advancement to higher education. As a national survey, the study provides a foundation for further research work so that the general issues it addressed can be extended to consider the particulars. This will enable us to capture the actual intensity of the various barriers and to see which factor is more significant for the varied Ugandan communities. The three-fold classification should still provide the framework but since this study provides a national picture, further research can be limited to one particular barrier to weigh the real extent of such barriers. A few areas of further study are identified here:

— Because this was an individual research, and given the wide range of variables investigated, it was not possible to provide a gender specific

analysis in some cases. While the main objectives of the study were achieved, it is recognised that further gender break down of some variables would carry the investigation deeper. For example, there is need to explore separately, attitudes of mothers and fathers to girls' education so that efforts to influence positive change can be directed to relevant agents.

— Male-child preference, and the effect of the family structure and marriage patterns including payment of bridewealth will need to be investigated in more detail for each of the major Ugandan communities. This will shed further light on the strengths of these barriers but also point to particular communities where such barriers are more relevant. Solutions can therefore be proposed to tackle the localised nature of such barriers.

— The effect of division of labour on schooling needs to be computed in such a way that it will be possible to tell how much time boys and girls spend on domestic work as opposed to school work. It is generally accepted that girls do more work and are sometimes withdrawn from school for this purpose. A study specifically investigating this barrier will enable parents, teachers and policy makers to consider relevant solutions or relief strategies.

– Investigation into the type of school which will lead to higher rates of female persistence and achievement will now require detailed study to show how girls are disadvantaged within the classroom, the attitudes of teachers, and to find out how shortcomings of day schools can be overcome. Detailed research is urgent here since national policy has shifted to provision of day-mixed schools which are known to be less conducive to high academic achievement, particularly for girls.

— This study demonstrated that one of the dilemmas faced by parents and girls is relevance of school and higher education to the future role of the girls as workers, mothers and wives. The curriculum, the nature of the labour market, and societal expectations do not tally. Research into how this obstacle can be removed is required to balance the relevance of the curriculum without necessarily excluding girls from certain types of employment.

— This study was able to illustrate varying quality of Ugandan schools by proxy measures of quality of inputs.

In future, it will be necessary to assess this determinant of schooling, through study of what constitutes school quality, availability of qualified teachers, scholastic materials, equipment, etc.' This will enable planners and assessors at national level to establish strategies for equity in educational provision for all socio-economic groups. Although this affects both boys and girls, it was pointed out that many of the girls' schools are in the poorer quality group, but concrete evidence of this is required.

— It is also important to follow up this study with an investigation of how girls fare once they enter higher education. It is necessary to find out the barriers they face as students, academic or management staff within this sector. This will show the factors hindering the increase of female role models, in comparison with men, and point to the extent to which this further affects women's access to this sector, for example as postgraduate students. Such a study should also point to ways in which higher education can be made less restrictive and extend its doors to non-traditional students.

The suggestions above are not exhaustive, but point to areas where reform and positive influence is possible, in view of Uganda's economic hardships. They are also provided to show the need for:

(a) further research at micro level so as to capture access factors which may be of a localised nature;
(b) further research into one particular access factor. This could be for a specific region or sampled to cover the country; with the aim of providing more detailed evidence that this study could not bring out since it was aiming at depicting an overall picture of major barriers.

Since a national foundation has been provided by this study, the approach suggested for further research should enable us eventually to find out which access factors pose stronger barriers to women's education and be in a better position to devise strategies to overcome them. This would also open more ways of information dissemination and provide guidelines for all participants in education.

(ii) Future Policy and Action

The current Ugandan scene shows that women are beginning to be recognised as participants in the running of their societies. It has been shown that state structures are being put in place for this purpose. There are other positive developments such as ensuring women's input in the new national constitution, now in the making; and reforming of bad and discriminatory laws; or state efforts to provide women with access to credit, etc. There is evidence that gender awareness (though not acceptance of gender equality) is spreading within the Ugandan society. Education is one major tool that can lead to such developments taking firm root, so as to change the pathetic situation of Ugandan women depicted in this study. Equal access to higher education for men and women will ensure that women are involved in decisions and policy-making, to bring about the required social change. Everything possible must therefore be done to ensure that this is achieved.

Time for this study and its scope do not allow for proposition of strategies to remove the existing barriers to women's access to higher education. However, it can be pointed out that the general framework for such strategies requires that these barriers be classified not only under the three divisions used in this study (family, society and institution), but also that these be grouped in the immediate, short and long term. Uganda's own financial crisis calls for this approach. The framework must also take into account that many of the barriers are deeply embedded in the fabric of the Ugandan society. Any efforts to remove them must therefore involve different members of society, and not just government agencies. The strategies have to take into account the varied cultural differences operating within the Ugandan scene. It has also be recognised that although these barriers emanate from various sources, it is necessary for some co-ordinating agency to be put in place. So far no such agency exists. Such an agency will then be able to work out a way of tackling family, societal or institutional barriers. The agency will be in a position not only to explore the existing problems but also to highlight the social benefits of educating women which have so far been overshadowed by societal and cultural values and traditions. From then on, there is a need to end the **vicious circle** created by illiteracy and to turn it into a **virtuous circle** where educated women will improve the education and health status of their families, earn more and create new technologies; but above all, be in a position to take decisions concerning their lives, and to influence life within their communities.

APPENDIX 1:

A C R O N Y M S

ACSA	Associate of the Institute of Chartered Secretaries and Administrators.
WID	Women in Development
PTC	Primary Teachers' College
TTC	Teacher Training College
NTC	National Teachers' College
UCC	Uganda College of Commerce
UTC	Uganda Technical College
ITEK	Institute for Teacher Education, Kyambogo
NCBS	National College of Business Studies
UPK	Uganda Polytechnic, Kyambogo
IPA	Institute of Public Administration
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
EEC	European Economic Community
EPRC	Education Policy Review Commission
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation.
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
MOE	Ministry of Education
MES	Manpower and Employment Survey
MPED	Ministry of Planning and Economic Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
IMF	International Monetary Fund (UN)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation (of UN)
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
NRM	National Resistance Movement
PLE	Primary Leaving Examination
UCE	Uganda Certificate of Education
UACE	Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education
ACFODE	Action for Development (Uganda)

FIDA	International Federation of Women Lawyers (Uganda Chapter)
UWFCT	Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust
CERUDET	Centenary Rural Development Trust
RC	Resistance Committee/Council
NRC	National Resistance Council
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
GRO	Grassroots Organisation
NCW	National Council of Women (Uganda)
UWESO	Uganda Women's Efforts to Save Orphans
NOTU	National Organisation of Trade Unions
NFE	Non-formal Education
HDI	Human Development Index
FLS	The Nairobi Foward Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women
DAWN	Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (Third World Women's Network)
AAUW	American Association of University Women
ILO	International Labour Organisation
CAPA	Commonwealth Association of Polytechnics in Africa
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ECA	Economic Commission for Africa (UN)
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board
ILEA	Inner London Education Authority
IDA	International Development Association (UN)
PTA	Parent/Teacher Association
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
USAID	United States Aid for International Development
CMS	Church Missionary Society

APPENDIX 2

UGANDA's CHANGING ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS

ADMINISTRATION DIVISION	1969 Districts	1980 Districts	1991 Districts
CENTRAL REGION (consisting of the old Buganda Kingdom)	Masaka	Masaka Rakai	Masaka Rakai Kalangala
	West Mengo	Mpigi	Mpigi
	Mubende	Mubende	Mubende Kiboga
	East Mengo	Mukono Luwero	Mukono Luwero
	Kampala	Kampala	Kampala
WESTERN REGION	Ankole	Mbarara Bushenyi	Mbarara Bushenyi
	Kigezi	Kabale Rukungiri	Kabale Rukungiri Kisoro
	Toro	Bundibugyo Kabarole Kasese	Bundibugyo Kabarole Kasese
	Bunyoro	Hoima Masindi	Hoima Masindi Kibale
NORTHERN REGION	Acholi	Kitgum Gulu	Kitgum Gulu
	Lango	Apac Lira	Apac Lira
	West Nile	Nebbi Arua	Nebbi Arua
	Madi	Moyo	Moyo
EASTERN REGION	Busoga	Jinja Iganga Kamuli	Jinja Iganga Kamuli
	Bukedi	Tororo	Tororo

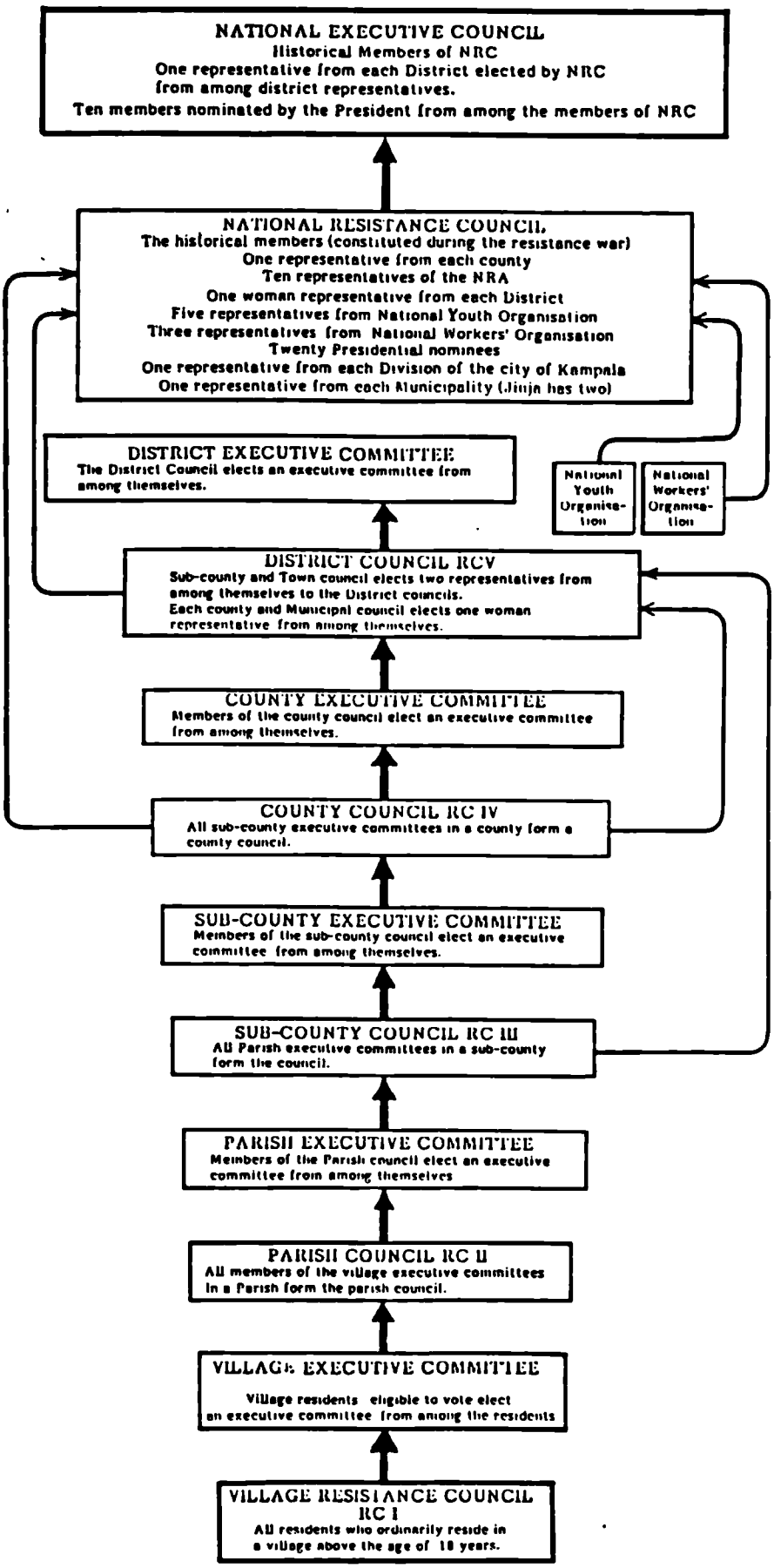
		Pallisa
Bugisu	Mbale	Mbale
Sebei	Kapchorwa	Kapchorwa
Teso	Kumi Soroti	Kumi Soroti
Karamoja	Moroto Kotido	Moroto Kotido

CHANGES IN REGIONAL DIVISIONS (Sometimes used for smaller divisions, e.g. 1988)

REGION	DISTRICTS
CENTRAL	No Changes
SOUTHERN	Kabale Rukungiri Bushenyi Mbarara
WESTERN	Kasese Kabarole Bundibugyo Hoima Masindi
NORTH WESTERN	Arua Moyo Nebbi
NORTHERN	Gulu Kitgum Apac Lira
NORTH EASTERN	Kotido Moroto
EASTERN	Jinja Iganga Kamuli Tororo Mbale Kumi Soroti

APPENDIX 3

Structure of National Resistance Councils and Committees



Source: Directorate of Information & Mass Mobilisation, NRM Secretariat, Kampala

APPENDIX 4

APPROVED SUBJECTS WITHIN THE UGANDAN SCHOOL SYSTEM

4 (A). UGANDA PRIMARY LEAVING CERTIFICATE SUBJECTS (UPLC)

I ENGLISH LANGUAGE

II SOCIAL STUDIES AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION
- (a) Geography
- (b) History and Civics
- (c) Religious Education:
  - (i) Christian Religious Education
    or
  - (ii) Islamic Religious Education

III SCIENCE

IV MATHEMATICS

Source: UNEB, UPLC Regulations & Syllabus, 1983-84.

4(B). APPROVED UGANDAN CERTIFICATE OF EDUCATION (UCE) SUBJECTS

I ENGLISH LANGUAGE
- 112 English Language

II HUMANITIES
- 208 Literature in English
- 218 Fasihi ya Kiswahili
- 223 Christian Religious Education
- 224 Christian Religious Education
- 225 Islamic Religious Education
- 241 History
- 273 Geography
- 285 Political Education

III LANGUAGES
- 301 Latin
- 309 German
- 314 French
- 335 Luganda
- 336 Lugha ya Kiswahili

IV MATHEMATICAL SUBJECTS
- 456 Mathematics
- 475 Additional Mathematics

V SCIENCE SUBJECTS
- 500 General Science
- 527 Agriculture: Principles and Practices
- 535 Physics
- 545 Chemistry
- 550 Biology
- 553 Biology

VI CULTURAL SUBJECTS AND OTHERS
- 610 Art
- 621 Music
- 631 Health Science
- 652 Clothing and Textiles
- 662 Foods and Nutrition
- 672 Home Management

VII TECHNICAL SUBJECTS
- 732 Woodwork
- 735 Technical Drawing
- 742 Metalwork
- 743 Building Construction
- 751 Electricity and Electronics
- 752 Power and Energy

VII BUSINESS STUDIES
- 800 Commerce
- 810 Principles of Accounts
- 820 Shorthand
- 832 Typewriting
- 835 Office Practice

Source: UNEB, UCE Regulations and Syllabus 1986-90

4(C) (UACE) SUBJECTS

SUBJECT NO:	SUBJECT NAME	ABBREVIATION
101	General Paper	GEP
210	History	HIS
219	History	HIS
220	Economics	ECO
229	Economics	ECO
240	Divinity	DIV
245	Divinity (CRE)	DIV
250	Geography	GEG
259	Geography	GEG
310	Literature	LIT
320	Kiswahili	KIS
330	French	FRE
340	German	GER
350	Latin	LTN
360	Luganda	LUG
369	Luganda	LUG
410	Mathematics	MAT
420	Pure Mathematics	PUM
425	Maths New Syllabus	MAT
460	Further Maths	FUM
470	Statistics	STA
475	Maths New Syllabus (Subsidiary)	MAT
476	Mathematics	MAT
477	Mathematics (Subsidiary)	MAT
510	Physics	PHY
515	Agriculture	AGR
519	Physics	PHY
520	Chemistry	CHE
525	Chemistry	CHE
529	Chemistry	CHE
530	Biology	BIO
535	Biology	BIO
539	Biology	BIO
540	Botany	BOT
549	Botany	BOT
550	Zoology	ZOO
610	Art	ART
620	Music	MUS
629	Music	MUS
630	Home Economics	HOM
640	Home Economics	HOM
710	Geometrical & Mech. Drawing	GMD
720	Geometrical & Building Drawing	GBD
319	Literature	LIT
619	Art	ART
235	Islamic Religious Education	IRE
719	Geometrical & Mech. Drawing	GMD

Plus any other subjects as may be offered at the advanced level from time to time by the Ugandan National Examination Board.

Source: UNEB UACE Regulations and Syllabus (1986,90).

APPENDIX 5
CLASSIFICATION AND WEIGHTING OF UACE SUBJECTS FOR ADMISSION TO VARIOUS COURSES OF STUDY AT MAKERERE UNIVERSITY

COURSE	ESSENTIAL SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 3	RELEVANT SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 2	DESIRABLE SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 1	APPROPRIATE A' LEVEL COMBINATIONS
1. AGRICULTURAL COURSES: 1.1 B. AGR. ENG.	MATHS PHYSICS	CHEMISTRY	AGRICULTURE BIOLOGY	MATHS, PHYSICS, CHEMISTRY
1.2 B.F.S. & TECH	BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY	FOODS & NUTRITION PHYSICS	AGRICULTURE MATHS GEOGRAPHY HOME ECONOMICS GEN. PAPER	BIOLOGY, CHEMISTRY, PHYSICS
1.3 B.SC. (AGRIC) 1.4 B.SC (FOR)	BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY	AGRICULTURE PHYSICS	GEOGRAPHY MATHS HOME ECON. GEN. PAPER	BIOLOGY, CHEMISTRY, PHYSICS
2. ARTS COURSES 2.1 B.A.	—	—	ART GEN. PAPER MATHS OTHERS (ARTS	ANY THREE SUBJECTS + ART
2.2 B.A. (MASS COMM.)	LITERATURE	ECONOMICS HISTORY	ART GEN. PAPER OTHERS (ARTS)	LITERATURE, ECONOMICS, HISTORY
2.3 DIP. MUSIC DANCE & DRAMA	LITERATURE OR MUSIC	ART DIVINITY (CRE) FRENCH, GERMAN, HISTORY, IRE KISWAHILI, LATIN LUGANDA	BIOLOGY ECONOMICS GEOGRAPHY MATHS PHYSICS GEN. PAPER	1. LITERATURE, HISTORY, DIVINITY, MUSIC 2. LITERATURE, FRENCH, DIVINITY, ART
3. EDUCATION COURSES: 3.1 ARTS B.A. (WITH EDUCATION)	—	—	GEN. PAPER TEACHING SUBJECTS (ARTS) EXCEPT ART	ANY TWO TEACHING ARTS SUBJECTS

COURSE	ESSENTIAL SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 3	RELEVANT SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 2	DESIRABLE SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 1	APPROPRIATE A' LEVEL COMBINATIONS
3.2 SCIENCE B.Sc. (WITH EDUCATION)	—	—	GEN. PAPER BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY ECONOMICS GEOGRAPHY MATHS PHYSICS	1. PHY, CHE, MAT 2. PHY, CHE, BIO 3. PHY, ECO, MAT 4. MAT, ECO, GEG
4. COMMERCE: B.COM	ECONOMICS MATHS	GEOGRAPHY	GEN. PAPER OTHERS, (ARTS & SCIENCE)	LIT, ECONOMICS, HISTORY
5. LAW: LL.B	LITERATURE ECONOMICS GEOGRAPHY	DIVINITY (CRE/IRE) GEOGRAPHY	GEN. PAPER OTHERS (ARTS & SCIENCE)	LIT, ECONOMICS, HISTORY
6. MEDICAL COURSES: 6.1 B.D.S.	BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY	MATHS PHYSICS	GEN. PAPER MATHS (SUB.)	1. BIO, CHE, PHY 2. BIO, CHE, MAT
6.2 M.B.CH.B	BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY	MATHS PHYSICS	ART GEN. PAPER ALL OTHERS (ARTS & SCIENCE)	1. BIO, CHE, PHY, ART 2. BIO, CHE, MAT, ART
6.3 B.PHARM	CHEMISTRY PHYSICS (OR MATHS)	BIOLOGY BOTANY ZOOLOGY	GEN. PAPER MATHS (SUB)	1. CHE, MAT, PHY 2. CHE, PHY, BIO 3. CHE, MATH, BIO
7. SCIENCE: B.SC.	—	—	GEN. PAPER BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY ECONOMICS GEOGRAPHY MATHS PHYSICS	ANY THREE SCIENCE SUBJECTS
8. SOCIAL WORK & SOC. ADMIN: B.A. (S.W.S.A.)	—	ECONOMICS	GEN. PAPER OTHERS (ARTS) ART	1. ECO, DIV, LIT 2. ECO, GEG, LIT

COURSE	ESSENTIAL SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 3	RELEVANT SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 2	DESIRABLE SUBJECTS - WEIGHT 1	APPROPRIATE A' LEVEL COMBINATIONS
9. ENGINEERING: 9.1 B.ARCH.	MATHS	ART ECONOMICS GEOGRAPHY HISTORY PHYSICS	GEN. PAPER DRAWING CHEMISTRY	1. MAT, ECO, GEG, ART 2. MAT, ECO, PHY, ART 3. MAT, PHY, CHE, ART
9.2 B.SC. (ENG)	MATHS PHYSICS	CHEMISTRY APPLIED MATHS PURE MATHS FURTHER MATHS	GEN. PAPER DRAWING	MAT, PHY, CHE
9.3 B.SC. (SUR)	MATHS	GEOGRAPHY PHYSICS	GEN. PAPER CHEMISTRY ECONOMICS	1. MATH, PHY, CHE 2. MAT, GEG, ECO 3. MAT, PHY, ECO
10. VETERINARY MEDICINE: B.V.M.	BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY	MATHS PHYSICS	GEN. PAPER MATHS (SUB.)	1. BIO, CHE, PHY 2. BIO, CHE, MAT
11. LIBRARIANSHIP B.L.I.S.	—	ARTS SCIENCE SUBJECTS	GEN. PAPER ART	ANY THREE ARTS OR SCIENCE SUBJECTS
12. STATISTICS B. STAT.	MATHS OR PURE MATHS	ECONOMICS APPLIED MATS FURTHER MATHS	GEN. PAPER AGRICULTURE BIOLOGY, CHEMISTRY FOODS & NUTRITION GEOGRAPHY PHYSICS	1. MAT, ECO, GEG 2. MAT, ECO, PHY 3. MAT, CHE, PHY
13. FINE ART B.A. (F.A)	ART	BIOLOGY CHEMISTRY ECONOMICS HISTORY MATHS PHYSICS	GEN. PAPER ALL OTHERS (ARTS & SCIENCES)	1. ART, ECO, HIS, LIT 2. ART, BIO, CHE, PHY 3. ART, BIO, CHE, MAT

NOTE: It is assumed at all A' Level Combinations include the General Paper.

Source: Requirements for Entering Makerere University, (Rotary Club of Kampala West, 1991).

APPENDIX 6.1

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF A SAMPLE OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS BY COURSE OF STUDY (1991) (n = 488)

Occupation Code	Human Medicine		Veterinary Medicine		Technology		Statistics		Law		Agriculture & Forestry		Education		Science (General)		Commerce		Arts		Social Sciences		Total nos in Occupation		Female % of Total Nos in Occupation	Female % of Total Sample
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
01	3	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	9	7	43.7	1.4
02	6	13	5	7	4	3	2	3	6	3	6	7	3	1	2	—	2	3	3	12	2	4	41	56	57.7	11.5
03	5	1	5	—	4	3	3	—	—	1	5	1	11	3	4	1	—	—	2	1	1	2	40	13	24.5	2.7
04	4	2	5	1	5	1	—	2	1	—	3	6	6	5	2	2	—	2	2	2	4	2	32	25	43.8	5.1
05	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	1	33.3	0.2
06	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	0	00.0	0
07	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	2	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	5	3	37.5	0.6
08	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	5	0	00.0	0
09	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	0	—	0
10	7	3	4	3	4	2	2	2	1	6	3	8	2	4	1	2	2	—	4	4	2	—	32	34	51.5	6.9
11	21	1	12	2	8	—	6	2	4	—	27	7	20	3	8	1	8	3	9	1	6	4	129	24	15.6	4.9
12	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	2	4	3	—	3	1	3	—	—	3	6	1	—	11	18	62.0	3.7
	47	21	33	13	28	9	15	11	13	13	50	37	46	20	18	9	14	9	27	27	16	12	307	181	37.0	37.0

KEY APPENDIX 6.1

Key:
01: Administrators and Managers — level of Permanent Secretary, Under Secretary, Head of Department, etc.
02: Professionals of Engineers, Doctors, Lawyers, Religious and Educational leaders etc.
03: Teachers — includes Primary and Secondary School teachers, BUT not teachers in Post-Secondary School Institutions whoa re listed under 02.
04: Semi professionals and Technical Workers — e.g. Medical Assistants, Technical Workers and Lower Administrative Cadre of Civil Service.
05: Clerks and Service Workers — e.g. Typists, Librarians, Catering, Cashiers etc.
06: Farm, Fishery and Related Workers — e.g. Gardeners, Poultry Workers, Agricultural Assistants, etc.
07: Craft and Related Workers — e.g. Carpenters, Builders, Mechanics, Electricians etc.
08: Machine Operators and Assemblers — Woodprocessers, Metal Smelters, etc.
09: Elementary Occupations Workers — e.g. Cleaners, Sweepers, Messengers, Guards, etc.
10: Businessmen
11: Peasants
12: Farmer
Farmer distinct from peasant, in that the fomer is usually better off economically than the peasant subsistence farmer. Farmer implies production on commercial basis.

Grading based on father's occupation.
Classification adapted from Census of Civil Servants (1988) (Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, Kampala, Uganda).
Student sample selected randomly to include major faculties and years of study.

Source: Compiled by Researcher from Makerere University Students Record — Academic Registrar's Department.

APPENDIX 6.2

AVERAGE PER HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE BY SELECTED ITEMS AND REGION (UG. SH. 1000)

Item	Region	Uganda Urban		Uganda Rural		Uganda Total	
		Per h.h Monthly Expenditure	% age to Total Expenditure	Per h.h Monthly Expenditure	% age to Total Expenditure	Per h.h Monthly Expenditure	% age to Total Expenditure
Fuel and Power	Central	2,552	4.43	828	2.27	1,225	2.96
	Eastern	986	1.99	44	0.19	123	0.47
	Western	1,614	3.24	571	1.60	630	1.72
	Northern*	2,410	8.49	1,229	5.60	1,335	5.89
Recreation and	Central	901	1.57	232	0.64	387	0.93
Entertainment	Eastern	385	0.78	152	0.64	172	0.66
Equipment	Western	415	0.83	197	0.55	210	0.57
	Northern	35	0.12	59	0.27	56	0.25
Education	Central	2,265	3.94	1,174	3.22	1,426	3.45
	Eastern	1,007	2.03	86	0.36	164	0.63
	Western	1,232	2.48	582	1.62	620	1.69
	Northern	307	1.08	347	1.57	343	1.51

* Figures increased by amount of fuel wood consumed other than other types (see notes).
Source: Uganda National Household Budget Survey (1989-90) (Compiled from Table 1.07-1 to 1.10-13).

NOTES: Items selected as indicators to economic status of household and because of their influence on quality of education. Individual items considered consist of:

Fuel and Power:
— Electricity
— Paraffin
— Charcoal
— Firewood
— Others

Recreation and Entertainment Equipment:
— Television Sets
— Radio Sets
— Cassette players, electronic music systems etc.
— Video deck
— Camera

APPENDIX 6.3

AVERAGE PER HOUSEHOLD MONTHLY CONSUMPTION EXPENDITURE IN UGANDA BY EDUCATIONAL ITEM WITH URBAN-RURAL BREAKDOWN (UG. SH. 1000)

ITEM DESCRIPTION	Uganda Urban		Uganda Rural		Uganda Total	
	Per h.h Monthly Expenditure	% age of Total Expenditure	Per h.h Monthly Expenditure	% age of Total Expenditure	Per h.h Monthly Expenditure	% age of Total Expenditure
Textbooks, other books and journals	74	0.14	22	0.07	29	0.08
Newspapers and othe printed matter	181	0.34	19	0.06	40	0.12
School, College and University fees	1,098	2.06	387	1.22	480	1.39
Coaching class fees	64	0.12	15	0.05	8	0.02
Exercise books, schooling materials & stationery	193	0.36	104	0.33	116	0.34
School uniform	131	0.24	54	0.17	64	0.18
Others	68	0.13	28	0.09	33	0.10
EDUCATION TOTAL	**1,809**	**3.39**	**629**	**1.99**	**770**	**2.23**

Source: Uganda National Household Budget Survey (1989-90) (Part of table 1.11-13).

APPENDIX 6.4

KITANTE PRIMARY SCHOOL — REASONS FOR DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL

Year	Transport Constraints		Transfer of Parents from Kampala		Unable to pay PTA/charges		Transfer to other schools within Kampala		Not Known	
	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
1980	—	—	4	9	—	—	—	4	—	3
1981	15	4	4	—	—	—	3	—	5	—
1982	7	7	3	—	—	—	2	—	5	—
1983	—	7	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	9
1984	11	6	4	7	3	—	—	2	5	15
1985	6	2	31	8	—	3	—	—	8	9

Source: Compiled from returns from Headmaster's Office, Kitante Primary School (1991).

APPENDIX 6.5

BUDO JUNIOR SCHOOL — REASONS FOR DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL

	Pupils who started PI		Pupils who reached P7		Dropouts		REASONS Discipline		FOR Health		DROPPING Academic		OUT Transfers	
Year	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1980	33	21	9	7	24	14	1	1	4	3	1	2	4	4
1981	39	16	25	8	14	8	2	—	5	3	3	4	3	3
1982	42	18	20	7	22	11	2	—	5	3	3	4	3	3
1983	18	8	9	8	9	—	5	—	4	5	1	3	4	3
1984	30	25	20	12	10	13	2	1	2	1	2	4	2	2
1985	59	29	14	7	45	22	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	3

APPENDIX 6.6

REGISTERED PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS BY DISTRICT 1992

DISTRICT	SECONDARY SCHOOLS	TECHNICAL INSTITUTE	VOCATIONAL INSTITUTE	SEM/THEOL COLLEGES	COMMERC. BUSINESS INSTITUTE	HOME ECONOMICS INSTITUTE	FARM INSTITUTE
ARUA	11	5	2	2			
APAC		3					
BUNDIBUGYO	3						
BUSHENYI	12	3		1			
GULU	2	4		1	1		
HOIMA	9	3					
IGANGA	15	3		1	1		
JINJA	9	4					
KABALE	10	2					
KABAROLE	11	4		4			
KAMPALA	27	4		6	14	4	
KAMULI	12	2			1		
KASESE	12				2		
KUMI	5						
LIRA		2					
LUWERO	5	4					
MASAKA	31	2		5	2		3
MASINDI	6						
MBALE	13	2		1	2		
MBARARA	13	7			2		1
MOROTO	2						
MOYO	5						
MPIGI	22	6			2		
MUBENDE	17	1		3			
MUKONO	10	5				1	
RUKUNGIRI	3	5					
TORORO	25	4					
KAPCHORWA	1						

Source: Compiled by Researcher from fieldwork data from The Inspectorate, Ministry of Education 1992.
Note: Unregistered and/or unofficially recognised institutions are excluded.

APPENDIX 6.7

OFFICIAL ALLOWANCES PAYABLE TO STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS (1990)
(Uganda Shillings - 1000)

ALLOWANCES	U.C.C.	U.T.C.	N.T.C.	ITECH. INST	TECH. SCH	T.T.C.	I.T.E.K.	U.P.A.	N.C.B.S	N.B.U.	MAK. UNIV.	TOTAL (in 000)	PER CENT
BOOK	76,556	21,479	51,467	58,536	43,942	196,614	14,040	7,776	13,541	675	141,059	574,680	43.7
STATIONERY	8,649	7,269	17,417	19,811			4,752	2,632	4,583	228	60,000	175,341	9.5
PERSONAL (BOOM)+++	3,786	3,182	7,264	6,504		2,846	2,496	1,382	2,006	480	14,260	44,206	3.4
TRAVELLING	19,877	16,706	40,026	45,528			10,920	6,048	10,532	525	72,000	222,162	16.9
STATE SCHOLARSHIPS											1,800	1,800	0.1
LIVING OUT											90,650	90,650	6.9
GUILD GOVERNMENT	123	103	248	282	212	947	68	37	68	3	3,000	5,088	0.4
BLIND STUDENTS											1,065	1,065	0.1
STUDENTS FROM DISTURBED AREAS											2,000	2,000	0.2
SPECIAL FACULTY REQUIREMENT	40,590							14,695			67,861	123,146	9.4
MEDICAL ALLOWANCES	379	318	762	867	651	2,913	208	115	201	10		6,424	0.5
INDUSTRIAL TRAINING	44,296	37,229						13,478	23,470			118,473	9.0
TOTAL (IN 000)	102,666	126,876	117,179	131,528	44,805	203,320	32,484	46,163	54,398	1,921	453,695	1,315,035	
PER CENT	7.8	9.6	8.9	10.0	3.4	15.5	2.5	3.5	4.1	0.1	34.5	100.0	

+++ These allowances have changed vide the Circular No. 4 of the Public Service Commission, dated July 20th, 1989.
An average of shs 2,300 for a total enrolement of 6,200 students have been used for Makerere University.

School Code	01M	02M	03M	04G	05M	06G	07M	08M	09G	10M	11G	12M	13M	14M	15M	16M
English Language	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O
Literature in English	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	A	B	B	B	A
Kiswahili																
Christian Religious Education	O	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Islamic Religious Education	O															
History	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Geography	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Political Education																
Latin																
German		O														
French	O	O		B				B					B	O		O
Luganda	B	B						B					B			
Mathematics	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
General Science																
Agriculture	O	O		B				B					B	O		O
Physics	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Chemistry	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Biology	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B
Art	B	B	O	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B	B		O
Music	O	O		B	B			O					O	O		O
Clothing & Textiles																
Foods and Nutrition																
Home Management	O	O		O		O	O	O	O				O	O	O	
Woodwork			O		O	O							O		O	
Technical Drawing			O			O										
Metal Work																
Building Construction																
Electricity & Electronics																
Power & energy																
Commerce	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O	O		O	O
Principles of Accounts	O	O	0		0		0	0		0			0			0
Health Science									0							0
Shorthand			0			0				0						
Typewriting			O			O					O					
Office Practice	O		O			O										
General Paper	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Economics	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A	A
Religious Education	A															
Arabic	O															
Art & Crafts																
Total Number of O-Level Subjects	20	18	17	15	14	18	14	20	15	13	15	10	19	14	15	15
Total Number of A-Level Subjects	12	12	10	13	12	11	11	13	11	11	11	11	13	11	10	10

KEY: O = Available at O level (Senior 4) A = Available at A level (Senior 6) B = Available at both O and A levels

M = Mixed School General Paper compulsory at A level English Language } Compulsory at A Level

G = Girls School Mathematics }

Source: Compiled from fieldwork data supplied by Schools.

APPENDIX 6.9

UGANDA TECHNICAL COLLEGE, ELGON
1990/91 STUDENT ENROLMENT

COURSE	Enrolment				
	M	%	F	%	Tota
Ordinary Diploma in Electrical Engineering (ODE)	22	(91.6)*	2	(8.4)	24
Ordinary Diploma in Mechanical Engineering (ODM)	42	(100)	—		42
Ordinary Diploma in Civil Engineering (ODC)	41	(100)	—		41
Fitter Mechanics, Part II	83	(100)	—		83
Motor Vechicle Technician Part I	81	(100)	—		81
Motor Vechicle Technician Part II	11	(100)	—		11
Electrical Installation Part II	65	(88)	9	(12)	74
Electrical Installation Part III	8	(100)	—		8
Total	353	(97)	11	(3)	364

Source: Processed from fieldwork data supplied by the Registrar's Office, UTC, Elgon (1991).

APPENDIX 6.10

UGANDA POLYTECHNIC KYAMBOGO
STUDENT ENROLMENT BY SCHOOL/DEPARTMENT AND SEX: 1981/2 - 1991/2

	SBCE		SEEE		SMPE		SS		DIC		SE		TOTAL		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	Grand
1981/82	119	05	205	13	138	02	28	08	13	03	43	03	546	34	580
1982/83	175	08	279	11	172	—	69	09	15	03	49	—	763	31	794
1983/84	139	05	123	13	124	—	75	10	13	01	64	04	538	33	571
1984/85	280	03	146	11	118	01	105	18	08	—	70	04	727	37	764
1985/86	81	03	52	03	46	—	47	11	03	02	36	01	265	20	285
1986/87	68	08	68	16	44	—	52	08	06	—	26	01	264	33	297
1987/88	75	02	54	03	69	—	64	14	09	01	28	04	334	24	358
1988/89	75	03	65	08	53	—	55	17	07	02	26	05	286	35	321
1989/90	96	—	84	05	64	—	83	17	08	05	36	03	371	30	401
1990/91	72	02	72	03	56	—	93	23	05	—	25	02	323	30	353
1991/92	109	13	76	05	58	—	69	19	09	04	39	—	360	41	401

KEY:
SMPE = School of Building and Civil Engineering
SEEE = School of Electrical and Electronics Engineering
SMPE = School of Mechanical and Production Engineering
SS = School of Science
SE = School of Education
DIC = Department of Industrial Ceramics
M = Male
F = Female

Source: Compiled from fieldwork data provided by Registrar's Office, UPK (1992).

APPENDIX 6.11

BUKALASA* AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE ENROLMENT FIGURES 1991

COLLEGE	CERTIFICATE COURSES	Numbers by Sex			
		Male	%	Female	%
Bukalasa	Agriculture	75	(78.9)	20	(2
Bukalasa	Co-operatives	38	(73.0)	14	(2
Arapai	Agriculture	49	(83.0)	10	(1
	DIPLOMA COURSES**				
Bukalasa	**Agriculture**	15	(71.4)	6	(2
Arapai	**Agriculture**	14	(87.5)	2	(1
		191	(78.6)	52	(2

* At time of Collection of data, Bukalasa College was providing Sanctuary to two Colleges, Kigumba Co-operative College and Arapai Agricultural College, which could not operate normally because of Civil War in Eastern Region.
** Admissions for 1st Year of the Diploma Course had not taken place at time of Collection Data.

Source: Processed from fieldwork data from Bukalasa Agricultural College, Principal's Offi (1991).

APPENDIX 6.12

INSTITUTE OF TEACHER EDUCATION KYAMBOGO STUDENT ENROLMENT 1980/81 - 1989/90

YEAR	SCIENCE		ARTS		VOCATIONAL EDUCATION		Female % of Total
	M	F	M	F	M	F	Enrolment
1980/81	48	16	53	32	53	15	30.3
1981/82	48	29	58	42	69	21	34.5
1982/83	68	30	80	60	66	30	35.9
1983/84	45	23	76	74	74	42	41.6
1984/85	17	24	32	50	42	16	49.7
1985/86	61	14	147	27	39	28	21.8
1986/87	57	11	126	94	58	48	38.8
1987/88	49	8	56	23	79	50	31.3
1988/89	87	9	97	73	67	39	32.1
1989/90	40	35	92	67	78	65	42.0

Source: Compiled from fieldwork data from Registrar's Office, ITEK (1991).

APPENDIX 6.13

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MAKERERE UNIVERSITY UNDERGRADUATE ADMISSIONS BY COURSE AND SEX (1980-89)

	1980		1981		1982		1983		1984		1985		1986		1987		1988		1989	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
MBCHB	77	23	77	23	81	19	74	26	78	22	62	38	64	36	70	30	72	28	73	27
BVM	89	11	72	28	84	16	85	15	85	15	88	12	88	12	90	10	97	3	87	13
B.Sc ENG	89	11	98	2	98	2	98	2	96	4	99	1	97	3	96	4	89	11	93	7
B.Sc Agric	85	15	74	26	65	35	79	21	71	29	90	9	89	11	74	26	69	31	79	21
B.Sc FOR	100	0	93	7	95	5	96	4	93	7	74	26	76	24	87	13	88	12	83	17
B. STAT	92	8	73	27	97	3	93	7	90	10	88	12	88	12	81	19	88	12	91	9
B. COM	73	27	98	2	87	13	73	27	69	31	83	17	82	18	86	14	89	11	67	33
SWSA	83	17	53	47	67	33	69	31	67	33	68	32	71	29	80	20	68	32	64	36
LLB	77	23	73	27	72	28	77	23	61	39	71	29	68	32	74	26	74	26	67	33
BA (FA)	62	38	54	46	59	44	85	15	77	23	61	39	61	39	66	34	62	38	55	45
B.Sc	76	24	86	14	92	8	63	37	84	16	82	16	82	18	89	11	87	13	90	10
BA (ARTS)	96	4	68	32	75	28	74	26	59	41	77	23	63	37	71	29	71	29	54	46
BA (SS)	77	23	75	25	76	24	77	23	77	23	69	31	74	26	81	19	76	24	83	17
B.D.S.	—	—	—	—	78	22	67	33	71	29	78	22	70	30	90	10	90	10	78	22
BA/ED	61	39	58	42	55	45	69	31	60	40	59	41	59	41	60	40	57	43	52	48
BSc/ED	77	23	94	6	93	1	50	50	93	7	88	12	91	9	94	6	95	5	94	6

Source: Processed by Researcher from Admission Records, Registrar's Department, Makerere University (1991).

Key:

MB.CHB	=	Bachelor of Medicine and Bachelor of Surgery
BVM	=	Bachelor of Veterinary Medicine
BSc.Eng	=	Bachelor of Science (Engineering)
BSc.Agric	=	Bachelor of Science (Agriculture)
BSc.For	=	Bachelor of Science (Forestry)
B.Stat	=	Bachelor of Statistics
B.Com	=	Bachelor of Commerce
SWSA	=	Bachelor of Arts (Social Work and Social Administration)
LL.B	=	Bachelor of Laws
BA.(FA)	=	Bachelor or Arts (Fine Art)
BSc	=	Bachelor of Science
BA (Arts)	=	Bachelor of Arts (Arts)
BA (SS)	=	Bachelor of Arts (Social Science)
BDS	=	Bachelor of Dental Surgery
BA/Ed	=	Bachelor of Arts with Education
BSc/Ed	=	Bachelor of Science with Education

APPENDIX 6.14
SCHOOLS WITH AT LEAST 10 STUDENTS ADMITTED TO MAKERERE UNIVERSITY (1987-1992) (n = 39)

Name of School	Category	District/Region	Admitted Numbers/Academic Year									
			1978/88		1988/89		1989/90		1990/91		1991/92	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Busoga College Mwiri	B/NBS	Jinja/Eastern	33	—	40	—	37	—	39	—	41	—
Bweranyangi Girls S.S.	G/NBS	Bushenyi/Western	—	11	—	10	—	13	—	14	—	16
Caltec Academy	M/PDS	Kampala/Central	32	0	37	16	36	14	29	17	33	19
Chwa II Memorial College	M/DBS	Kampala/Central	15	0	16	1	13	4	17	6	16	5
City High School	M/RDS	Kampala Central	14	2	16	3	15	6	20	7	18	7
Gayaza High School	G/NBS	Mpigi/Central	—	42	—	44	—	47	—	50	—	53
Immaculate Heart Girls Sch	G/NBS	Rukungiri/Western	—	16	—	21	—	19	—	18	-	22
Kako S.S.S.	M/NBS	Masaka/Central	9	1	13	1	11	2	12	6	9	5
Kampala High School	M/NDS	Kampala/Central	24	0	32	1	29	4	30	5	27	7
Kibuli S.S.S.	M/NBS	Kampala/Central	48	17	52	16	49	19	50	26	46	24
Kigezi High School	M/NBS	Kabale/Western	19	0	23	0	21	0	25	0	23	0
King's College, Budo	M/NBS	Mpigi/Central	29	5	31	6	29	8	38	14	32	10
Kololo High School	M/RDS	Kampala/Central	14	1	18	2	15	3	18	4	16	3
Kyambogo College School	B/RDS	Kampala/Central	18	—	17	—	20	—	18	—	23	—
Lango College	B/NBS	Lira/Northern	10	—	14	—	15	—	10	—	13	—
Makerere College School	M/NBS	Kampala/Central	44	7	48	12	46	14	59	16	70	15
Makerere High School	M/PDS	Kampala/Central	25	4	23	5	21	6	24	6	22	9
Makobore High School	B/NBS	Rukungiri/Western	11	—	12	—	10	—	12	—	11	—
Mary Hill High School	G/NBS	Mbarara/Western	—	18	—	21	—	26	—	25	—	24
Mengo Senior Sec. School	M/RDS	Kampala/Central	11	2	12	1	15	3	12	4	16	4

APPENDIX 6.14 contd: SCHOOLS WITH AT LEAST 10 STUDENTS ADMITTED TO MAKERERE UNIVERSITY (1987-1992)

Name of School	Category	District/Region	Admitted Numbers/Academic Year									
			1978/88		1988/89		1989/90		1990/91		1991/92	
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
Nvara S.S.S.	M/NBS	Arua/Northern	9	3	11	2	10	1	12	4	15	2
Nabisunsa Girls' School	G/NBS	Kampala/Central	—	20	—	25	—	27	—	34	—	33
Nabumali High School	M/NBS	Mbale/Eastern	9	2	10	4	7	3	7	3	5	5
Namasagali College	M/PBS	Kamuli/Eastern	15	2	12	4	16	5	14	6	19	6
Namilyango College	B/NBS	Mukono/Central	59	—	60	—	58	—	63	—	59	—
Ngora High School	M/NBS	Kumi/Eastern	9	2	10	2	11	1	9	3	10	3
Ntare School	B/NBS	Mbarara/Western	49	—	42	—	41	—	35	—	37	—
Nyakasura School	M/NBS	Kabalore/Western	16	0	14	0	17	0	19	0	22	0
Old Kampala S.S.S.	M/RDS	Kampala/Central	14	1	16	1	12	2	13	4	15	8
St. Henry's Kitovu	B/NBS	Masaka/Central	16	—	16	—	14	—	17	—	15	—
St. Kagwa Bushenyi	B/NBS	Bushenyi/Western	11	—	15	—	13	—	12	—	14	—
St. Leo's Kyegobe	B/NBS	Kabalore/Western	29	—	33	-	27	—	37	—	40	—
St. Mary's Kisubi	B/NBS	Mpigi/Central	37	—	36	—	48	—	46	—	53	—
St Mary's SS. Namagunga	G/NBS	Mukono/Central	—	49	—	51	—	56	—	56	—	59
St. Peter's College Tororo	B/NBS	Tororo/Eastern	57	—	52	—	59	—	72	—	79	—
Teso College Aloet	B/NBS	Soroti/Eastern	12	—	10	—	10	—	14	—	15	—
Trinity College Nabbingo	G/NBS	Mpigi/Central	—	36	—	42	—	26	—	30	—	23
Tororo Girls' School	G/NBS	Tororo/Eastern	—	14	—	15	—	10	—	17	—	21
Wairaka College	M/NBS	Jinja/Eastern	10	0	12	0	10	0	15	0	10	0

KEY:
B = Boys Only School
G = Girls Only School
M = Mixed School
DBS = District Boarding School* (*Not appearing in the table as their admission figures are below 10 candidates per year).
NBS = National Boarding School
NDS = National Day School
RBS = Regional Boarding School*
RDS = Regional Day School
PDS = Day Private School
DDS = District Day School*
PBS = Boarding Private School

Source: Compiled by Researcher from Makerere University Undergraduate Nominal Rolls (1987-1992).

APPENDIX 6.15

RECORDED NUMBERS OF SCHOOL DROP-OUTS FROM TWO SAMPLE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

KIKUNGIRI PRIMARY SCHOOL (RURAL)

Year of Study	1980			1981			1982			1983			1984			1985			1986		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
P1	—	—	—				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P2	12	—	12				7	—	7	14	16	30	5	11	16	21	11	32	—	—	—
P3	5	7	12		Not		17	18	35	16	—	16	5	—	5	—	—	—	9	—	9
P4	—	21	21				—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	10	7	9	16	22	16	38
P5	—	—	—		Available		30	8	38	—	4	4	—	—	—	1	3	4	—	7	7
P6	16	—	16				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	—	1
P7	—	5	5				—	3	3	21	12	33	—	6	6	12	14	26	1	6	7
Yearly Total	33	33	66				44	29	83	51	32	83	20	17	37	52	37	89	33	29	62

KITANTE PRIMARY SCHOOL (URBAN)

Year of Study	1980			1981			1982			1983			1984			1985			1986		
	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T	B	G	T
P1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	13	29	3	32	15	5	20
P2	—	—	—	10	—	10	12	7	19	—	9	9	—	—	—	2	2	4	—	—	—
P3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	5	6	19	17	36	—	—	—	—	—	—
P4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	4	7	—	7	1	—	1
P5	4	9	13	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—
P6	—	—	—	12	—	12	—	—	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	—	—
P7	—	7	7	5	4	9	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	9	16	—	—	—
Yearly Total	4	16	20	27	4	31	17	7	24	1	17	18	23	30	53	45	21	66	16	5	21

Key: B = Boys; G = Girls; T = Total number of Drop-out.

APPENDIX 6.16

General Information on Sample Primary Schools

School Name	1991 Enrolment		Schools Status	Location	School Type	Year Established	Founding Body	Staff	
	Boys	Girls						Male	Female
Kitante Primary School	1081	1182	Grade I	Kampala City (Urban)	Mixed Day	1968	Government	23 (53)	30
Budo Junior School	656	349	Grade I	Peri-Urban (near Kampala)	Mixed Boarding	1927	Anglican Church	16 (29)	13
Kikungiri Primary School	213	226	Grade II	Border District Municipal School (Kabale)	Mixed day	1945	Anglican Church	10 (20)	10
Kiyeyi Primary School	81	59	Grade II	Purely rural (Tororo District)	Mixed Day	1921	Catholic Church	6 (12)	6

Source: Compiled from fieldwork data supplied by respective Headteachers (1991).

APPENDIX 6.17

KIYEYI PRIMARY SCHOOL DROP-OUT RATES FOR TWO GENERATIO OF PUPILS

Year	Class	Boys	Girls
1977	P1	58	30
1978	P2	54	26
1979	P3	50	21
1980	P4	47	18
1981	P5	40	14
1982	P6	36	10
1983	P7	30	08

Year	Class	Boys	Girls
1984	P1	45	28
1985	P2	40	21
1986	P3	32	20
1987	P4	30	17
1988	P5	28	15
1989	P6	25	13
1990	P7	21	11

Source: Compiled from returns to Kiyeyi Primary School, Headmaster's Office (1991).

APPENDIX 6.18

KIKUNGIRI PRIMARY SCHOOL DROP-OUT RATES FOR THREE GENERATIONS OF PUPILS

Year	Class	Boys	Girls
1983	P1	53	46
1984	P2	42	41
1985	P3	40	36
1986	P4	39	27
1987	P5	31	19
1988	P6	27	17
1989	P7	17	8

Year	Class	Boys	Girls
1984	P1	43	44
1985	P2	38	36
1986	P3	33	31
1987	P4	33	26
1988	P5	28	21
1989	P6	21	16
1990	P7	16	10

Year	Class	Boys	Girls
1985	P1	59	64
1986	P2	48	50
1987	P3	42	46
1988	P4	29	33
1989	P5	21	19
1990	P6	16	17
1991	P7	8	7

Source: Compiled from returns from Kikungiri Primary School, Headmaster's Office (1991).

APPENDIX 6.19

ENROLMENT IN SAMPLE HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS 199

Institution	Total Enrolment	Total Male Enrolment	Total Female Enrolment	Female % o Total Enrolment
UTC, Elgon	364	353	11	3
UPK	401	360	41	10
Bukalasa	243	191	52	21
ITEK	377	210	167	44
NTC, Kakoba	660	503	157	24
NTC, Nkozi	697	463	234	34
UCC, Pakwach	419	263	156	37
NCBS, Nakawa	322	229	93	29
Nkumba College	585	273	312	53
Private IPA*	48	36	12	25
Makerere University	2102	1476	626	30

(IPA* Statistics refer to two postgraduate diploma courses only Instiute offers many mor in-service courses).

Source: Compiled from respective institutional fieldwork data 1991.

APPENDIX 6.20

INSTITUTIONAL CAPACITY OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS UNDER MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Institution	Course	Annual Intake	Enrolment for 1990/91	
			Male	Female
Colleges of Commerce	Diplomas in Business			
– Soroti	Education, Marketing	220	123	97
– Aduku	Catering &	320	258	62
– Kabale	Stenography	255	122	113
– Tororo		76	—	76
– Pakwach		261	155	106
National Teachers' Colleges				
– Unyama	Diplomas in	223	189	34
– Nkozi	education – Various	447	203	244
– Kabale	subjects	210	153	57
– Nagongera		85	59	26
– Masindi		116	83	33
– Kakoba		338	243	95
– Muni		62	61	1
– Mubende		206	154	52
– Ngetta		330	270	60
– Kaliro		587	438	149
Technical Colleges				
– Kichwamba	Ordinary	68	67	1
– Mubende	Technical	49	48	1
– Ngetta	Diplomas	52	51	1
– Kaliro		136	116	20
Uganda National College of Business Studies (UCBS)	Diplomas in Business Studies	640	N/A	N/A
Uganda Polytechnic, Kyambogo (UPK)	Higher and Ordinary Technical Diplomas	433	381	52
Institute of Teacher Education	Diplomas & Degree in Education	418	285	133
Mbarara Univ. of Science & Technology	First Degree in Medicine	48	48	10
Makerere University	First Degree Higher Degrees Diplomas	2939	2093	846

Source: Compiled from records of MOE, Planning Unit (1992).

APPENDIX 6.21

SENIOR ADMINISTRATIVE AND PROFESSIONAL STAFF AT THE HEADQUARTERS OF THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION (April 1992)

Department	Male	Female	Female as % of total
General Administration	16	7	30.4
Commission for Education (Administration)	78	22	22.0
Commissioner for Education (Inspectorate)	22	9	29.0
Finance Department	11	3	27.3
Projects	12	7	26.8
Teaching Service Commission	8	5	30.4
Pensions	3	3	50.0
Higher Education	3	1	25.0
Technical/Business Education	2	0	0.0
National Commission for Unesco	5	3	37.5
Special Education	0	2	100.0
TOTAL	160	62	27.9

Source: Compiled from Staff lists supplied by Office of the Commissioner for Education (Administration) 1992.

APPENDIX 7.1: ABRIDGED VERSION

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN UGANDA

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

Questionnaire No ☐☐☐ Out of ☐☐☐

DISTRICT .....

DIVISION (RC III) .....

RC II .....

RC I .....

A. INTRODUCTION:

This questionnaire seeks to know your personal views on some aspects of the education system, especially women's education, in Uganda. Only the researcher will have direct access to your answers, therefore, feel free to respond as honestly as possible. All information you give will be treated as STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL and will be used only for purposes of this research.

For each question with choices, put a circle round the answer of your choice. For other questions, fill in the blanks as appropriate.

B. IDENTIFICATION

1. Home District .....

2. Home Division (RC III) .....

   RC II .....

   RC I .....

3. Name of school/institution.....

4. Address of school/institution.....

   .....

5. Type of school/institution.

   1.Mixed Secondary
   2. Girls Secondary School
   3. College of Business Studies
   4. A National Teachers' College
   5. Technical institution
   6. University
   7. Other (specify)

   .....

   .....

C. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT

6. Name (optional).....

7. Age .....

8. Sex: (1) Male (2) Female

9. Marital Status

(1) Never married (3) Widowed

(2) Now married (4) Divorced

(5) Separated

10. Tribe .....

11. Religion

(1) Catholic

(2) Church of Uganda

(3) Moslem

(4) Other (specify) .....

12. Father's full-time occupation (e.g Medical Doctor, Primary School Teacher, Farmer, Peasant, etc).

.....

13. Mother's full-time occupation (e.g Medical Doctor, Primary School Teacher, Peasant, Nurse, etc.)

.....

D. EDUCATION OF OTHER FAMILY MEMBERS

14. Father's highest level of education obtained.

1. No formal education.
2. Primary/Junior School Education.
3. Secondary School Education
4. College Training (e.g. Teacher Training, Nurse Training, etc).
5. University.
6. Other (specify) .....

15. Mother's highest level of education.

1. No formal education.
2. Primary/Junior Education
3. Secondary education
4. College training (e.g Teacher training, Nurses training, etc).
5. University.
6. Other (specify).....

.....

16. How many children are you in your home?

Boys ..... Girls .....

17. Are there some of your brothers and sisters who were unable to complete their education?

1. Yes 2. No

18. If yes, indicate how many and at what level (codes for column (4) are below the table.

Period	No. of Boys	No. of Girls	Reasons for not completing	
			Boys	Girls
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Before completing Primary				
Before completing O' level				
Before completing A' level				
Before completing college				
Before completing University				

Code 4:
(1) Lack of school fees
(2) Decision of the parents
(3) Brother's own choice
(4) Sister's own choice
(5) Sister's pregnancy
(6) Other (specify).

E. GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT CAREERS

19. Did you receive or do you expect to receive any specific advice from the school about suitable career?

1. Yes 2. No

20 If Yes, from whom?

1. The Career's Guidance Teacher
2. Other Teacher
3. Father
4. Mother
5. Brother
6. Sister
7. No one
8. Other (specify).....

21. List 4 occupations which you think should be taken up by men as life-time careers and another 4 by women.

Appropriate Occupation for Men	Appropriate Occupation for Women
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

22. How much education would you want your wife/husband to have?

1. No formal education
2. Primary education
3. O'level education.
4. A'level education
5. University

23. Do you support payment of bridewealth (bride-price)?

1. Yes 2. No

24. Please give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

.....

G. GENERAL OPINIONS ON EDUCATION

25. The following are some of the views hed by the public at large about highly educated women which one do you think is most correct?

(1) They make difficult and argumentative wives
(2) They are useful to the family as they are aware of the importance of bringing up a healthy family.
(3) They encourage and assist their children to get good education.
(4) They complete university education when they are too old to get married.
(5) They are too proud of their positions to get on well with the rest of the community.

26. In the following list of different chores in a household, please write (H) against the JOB MOST SUITED FOR THE HUSBAND, (W) against the JOB MOST SUITED FOR THE WIFE and (B) chores which should be performed by both.

1.	.....	Farming/Gardening
2.	.....	Carrying of water
3.	.....	Feeding, caring for children and the elderly
4.	.....	Sweeping/cleaning house
5.	.....	Cooking
6.	.....	Driving family car
7.	.....	Mechanical repairs in the house
8.	.....	Washing up clothes and cutlery
9.	.....	Chopping fire wood
10.	.....	Disciplining the children
11.	.....	Checking on children's school work
12.	.....	Looking for and paying school fees
13.	.....	Budeting family expenses
14.	.....	Marketing/schools household goods including food.

27. Any other views about women's education in Uganda?

THANK YOU

APPENDIX 7.2: ABRIDGED VERSION

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN UGANDA

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR "OPINION LEADERS"

Questionnaire No ☐☐☐ Out of ☐☐☐

DISTRICT .....

DIVISION (RC III) .....

RC II .....

RC I .....

A. INTRODUCTION:

This questionnaire seeks to collect information on girls'/women's education in Uganda. Your personal views will assist the Researcher to compile views from a wide section of the Ugandan Society and therefore, your co-operation will greatly be appreciated. All information given will be treated as STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL and will be used only for purposes of this research. For each question with options, put a circle round the answer of your choice. For other questions, follow instructions given.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT

1. Name (Optional).....

2. Age group

(1)	Under 20	(4) 30 - 34	(7) 45 - 49
(2)	20 - 24	(5) 35 - 39	(8) 50 - 54
(3)	25 - 29	(6) 40 - 44	(9) 55 +

3. Sex (1) Male (2) Female

4. Marital status

(1)	Never married	(3) Widowed	(5) Separated
(2)	Now married	(4) Divorced	

5. Tribe .....

6. Religion

(1) Catholic	(3) Moslem
(2) Church of Uganda	(4) Other (specify).....

7. Highest level of education

(a) No formal education

(b) Primary/Junior

(c) Secondary

(d) College (e.g. TTC, Technical, Nurses Training etc.)

(e) University

(f) Other (specify) .....

8. Full time occupation (e.g. Secondary School Teacher, Businessman, Housewife etc.)

.....

9. How many children do you have?

(1) Boys..... (2) Girls .....

(3) None.....

C. CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

10. Are there any of your children who were unable to complete their education?

(1) Yes (2) No

11. If yes, please indicate how many could not complete their education and at what levels. For column 4 use the codes below the table.

Period	No. of Boys	No. of Girls	Reasons for not completing	
			Boys	Girls
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Before completing Primary				
Before completing O' level				
Before completing A' level				
Before completing college				
Before completing University				

Code 4:
(1) Lack of school fees
(2) Decision of the parents
(3) Son's own choice
(4) Daughter's own choice
(5) Daughter's pregnancy
(6) Other (specify).

12. What do you think are the main causes of children dropping out of school in your community?

Causes	Boys	Girls
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

13. List 4 occupations in which you would want your son or daughter to specialise.

Son	Daughter
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

14. List **THREE** household chores you would ask your son or daughter to perform.

Son	Daughter
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

D. GENERAL QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION:

15. What type of schools would you like to see expanded in your area?

(1) Day - single sex schools
(2) Day - mixed schools
(3) Boarding - single sex schools
(4) Boarding - mixed schools

16. Please give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

17. Have you ever heard negative views expressed by your community about highly education women? (WOMEN RESPONDENTS ONLY)

(1) Yes (2) No

18. If Yes, please list them.

.....

.....

.....

19. Give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

.....

20. If Yes, please list them.

.....

.....

.....

19. Are you aware of any special problems which women students may be facing?

(1) Yes (2) No

20. If Yes, please briefly outline.

.....

.....

.....

G. OPINIONS ABOUT WOMEN'S EDUCATION:

21. Which SINGLE Social/Cultural belief in the following list would you regard as the most serious barrier to women's education in Uganda?

(1) Belief that the most important role for women is to bear and rear children and look after their families.

(2) The education of girls benefits the families into which they get married rather than their own parents.

(3) The attitude that it is not necessary to spend so much on higher education for women since they will end up as housewives in any case.

(4) The belief that only men can successfully perform office work.

(5) Some religious beliefs e.g that women should not share with men school facilities.

(6) Other (specify).....

.....

.....

22. The following are some of the views held about highly educated women. Which ONE is most frequently applied?

(1) They make difficult and argumentative wives

(2) They are useful to the family as they are aware of the importance of bringing up a healthy family.

(3) They encourage and assist their children to get good education.

(4) They complete university education when they are too old to get married.

(5) They are a good example to the younger generation.

(6) They are too proud of their positions to get on well with the rest of the community.

(7) Any other views (specify).....

.....

.....

.....

23. Do you support payment of bridewealth (bride price) ?

(1) Yes (2) No

24. Please give reasons for your answer.

25. What do you think should be the minimum age for marriage for:

(1) Boys .....Years (2) Girls .....Years

26. Do you have any other comments on women's education in Uganda?

THANK YOU

APPENDIX 7.3: ABRIDGED VERSION

WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN UGANDA

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PARENTS

Questionnaire No ☐☐☐ Out of ☐☐☐

DISTRICT .....

DIVISION (RC III) .....

RC II .....

RC I .....

A. INTRODUCTION:

This questionnaire seeks to collect information on girls'/women's education in Uganda. Your personal views will assist the Researcher to compile views from a wide section of the Ugandan Society and therefore, your co-operation will greatly be appreciated. All information given will be treated as STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL and will be used only for purposes of this research. For each question with options, put a circle round the answer of your choice. For other questions, follow instructions given.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RESPONDENT

1. Name (Optional).....

2. Age group

(1)	Under 20	(4)	30 - 34	(7)	45 - 49
(2)	20 - 24	(5)	35 - 39	(8)	50 - 54
(3)	25 - 29	(6)	40 - 44	(9)	55 +

3. Sex (1) Male (2) Female

4. Marital status

(1)	Never married	(3)	Widowed	(5)	Separated
(2)	Now married	(4)	Divorced		

5. Tribe .....

6. Religion

(1) Catholic	(3) Moslem
(2) Church of Uganda	(4) Other (specify).....

7. Highest level of education

(a) No formal education

(b) Primary/Junior

(c) Secondary

(d) College (e.g. TTC, Technical, Nurses Training etc.)

(e) University

(f) Other (specify) .....

8. Full time occupation (e.g. Secondary School Teacher, Businessman, Housewife etc.)

.....

9. How many children do you have?

(1) Boys..... (2) Girls .....

(3) None.....

C. CHILDREN'S EDUCATION

10. Are there any of your children who were unable to complete their education?

(1) Yes (2) No

11. If yes, please indicate how many could not complete their education and at what levels. For column 4 use the codes below the table.

Period	No. of Boys	No. of Girls	Reasons for not completing	
			Boys	Girls
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	
Before completing Primary				
Before completing O' level				
Before completing A' level				
Before completing college				
Before completing University				

Code 4:
(1) Lack of school fees
(2) Decision of the parents
(3) Son's own choice
(4) Daughter's own choice
(5) Daughter's pregnancy
(6) Other (specify).

12. What do you think are the main causes of children dropping out of school in your community?

Causes	Boys	Girls
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

13. List 4 occupations in which you would want your son or daughter to specialise.

Son	Daughter
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.
4.	4.

14. List **THREE** household chores you would ask your son or daughter to perform.

Son	Daughter
1.	1.
2.	2.
3.	3.

D. GENERAL QUESTIONS ON EDUCATION:

15. What type of schools would you like to see expanded in your area?

(1) Day - single sex schools
(2) Day - mixed schools
(3) Boarding - single sex schools
(4) Boarding - mixed schools

16. Please give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

17. What do you think should be the minimum age for marriage?

(1) Boys .....Years (2) Girls .....Years

18. Do you support payment of bridewealth (bride-price)?
(1) Yes (2) No

19. Give reasons for your answer.

.....

.....

.....

E. GENERAL INFORMATION ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION

20. Unequal opportunity for girls/women in education can be identified in the following ways. Indicate ONE which you think is the biggest obstacle in Uganda.

(1) There are too few institutions for girls (schools, colleges etc).

(2) Teachers do not expect girls to do as well as boys and therefore they do not give them adequate encouragement and attention.

(3) The grouping of subject options at secondary school level limits girls/women's choices.

(4) The roles allotted to males and females by society limits girls/women's chances of advancement to the top.

(5) Some laws, including customary laws inhibit women's advancement in education.

(6) Some parents are unwilling to pay fees for girls' schooling.

21. Which ONE of the following beliefs would you say limits most women's advancement in education?

(1) Women's most important role is to produce and look after children.

(2) The education of girls benefits the families into which they get married.

(3) It is not necessary for women to take up time and money pursuing higher education since they will end up as housewives mainly.

(4) Men are more suited for office work than women.

(5) Some religious beliefs e.g. that men and women should not share educational facilities.

(6) Any other reason (please indicate) .....

.....

.....

.....

22. Which of the following beneficiaries gains most from a woman's education?

(a) The woman as an individual

(b) Her parents.

(c) Her own children and family.

F. HOUSEHOLD INCOME

23. Are you employed?

(1) Yes (2) No

24. If yes, who is your employer?

(1) Government

(2) Parastatal Organisation

(3) Private Organisation.

(4) Self-employed

(5) Other (specify).....

.....

.....

25. What salary do you earn per month?.....

26. Is your salary enough to meet your monthly needs

(1) Yes (2) No

27. What other work do you do to supplement your salary (e.g farming, business, etc.)?.....

.....

.....

28. How much do you earn from it in a week?.....

.....

29. Are any other members of your household employed?

(1) Yes (2) No

30. If yes, please indicate what work and how much they earn in the table below. For columns 2 and 3 write the codes as appropriate.

1 Name	2 Sex	3 Relationship	4 Type of Work	5 Monthly Earnings
	1. Male 2. Female	1. Head 2. Wife 3. Daughter/ Son 4. Relative 5. Other (specify)		

31. Any other comment about women's education in Uganda?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

THANK YOU

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abidi, S.A.H (ed) (1988), The Future of Education in Eastern Africa (Proceedings of PWPA Eastern African Regional Conference held in Kampala, Uganda, July 22-25-1987), Professors' World Peace Academy, Uganda, Kampala.

Abidi, S.A.H. (ed). (1990). Ugandan Women in Development. Foundation for African Development, Kampala, Uganda.

Abidi, S.A.H. (ed) (1991), Education for Development. Foundation for African Development, Kampala. Uganda.

Abondo, A. (1980) "Pregnancy Among Secondary School Girls". A Research paper for the B.A. degree in Social Work and Social Administration, Makerere University, Kampala.

Abramson, J. (1976), The Invisible Woman. Jossey - Bass, Inc, Publishers. California.

ACFODE, (1989a) "The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women: The Ugandan Experience". An Investigation Report by Action for Development (ACFODE) 1989, Kampala.

ACFODE, (1989b) Report of the Legal Education Workshop held at Tororo District Farm Institute 12-15 September 1989), ACFODE, Kampala.

ACFODE, (1990a) "A Woman's Health and You". Proceedings of a Seminar on Women as Providers and Promoters of Health, held on 17th -19th October 1990 at the International Conference Centre, Kampala, Uganda .

ACFODE (1990b) "Evaluation Report on ACFODE Membership" 1990 ACFODE, Kampala.

ACFODE (1990c) Summary Report of two Seminars on Career Guidance and Counselling in Secondary Schools, held on 6-8, and 14-16 August 1990, at ACFODE Offices, Spear House, Kampala

ACFODE (1991a) "A Woman's Health and Development" (Proceedings of the Seminar on Women, Health and Development, 21st - 24th March, 1991 held at Lake Victoria Hotel, Entebbe, Uganda) .

ACFODE, (1991 b) "The Problem of Schoolgirl Dropout in Upper Primary Classes in Uganda: The Case of Kampala and Mubende Districts " . Research Report

Acker, S. (1980). "Women, the Other Academics" in British Journal of Sociology of Education Vol. 1. No. 1 1980 p.81 - 91. Methuen and Co. Ltd., London.

Acker, S. (1984a) "Sociology, Gender and Education" in World Year Book of Education. Kogan Page Limited, London.

Acker, S. (1984b) "Women in Higher Education: What is the Problem?" in Is Higher Education Fair to Women? Acker, S, and Piper, D. W. (eds). SRHE & NFER - NELSON, Surrey, U.K.

Acker, S. (1987) "Feminist Theory and the Study of Gender and Education". In International Review of Education, Vol. 33. 1987. pp.219-235.

Acker, S. and Piper D, W. (eds) (1984). Is Higher Education Fair to Women? SRHE & NFER -NELSON, Surrey, U.K.

Adams, M. N and Krippenbach S.E. (1987) "Gender and Access in the African School" in Prospects, Vol. XVII, No 1, 1987 (61) P 437-453 Unesco, Paris.

Agonito, R (1977) History of Ideas on Woman: A Source Book. G. P. Putnam's & Sons, New York.

Agyei, W.K.A. (1989) "Non-formal Education for Women in Sub-Saharan Africa". Conference Paper published in UNDP (1992 a)

Akello, G. (1990), Self Twice-Removed Ugandan Woman. CHANGE International Reports: Women and Society, London.

Amanyire, M.B. (1983) "Attitudes of University Male Students Towards Marrying Graduate Women". Bachelor of Arts, Social Work and Social Administration Research paper 1983, Makerere University, Kampala.

American Association of University Women (AAUW) (1992) How Schools Shortchange Girls. (A Study of Major Findings on Girls and Education) . Commissioned by The AAUW Educational Foundation. Researched by The Wellesley College Center for Research on Women. AAUW Educational Foundation and National Education Association.

Amodoi, W. (1989) "An Investigation of Some Factors Influencing Students' Choice of Agriculture at 'O' Level in Secondary Schools in Tororo District". M.Ed. thesis, Makerere University, Kampala.

Andrews A. C. (1988) "The Status of Women", in The Third World: States of Mind and Being. Jim Norwine and Alfonso Gonzalez (eds) Unwin Hyman, Boston.

Angari, J.L.W. (1989) "A Study of the Relationship between Home Environment and Physics Learning at 'O' level Day Schools in Kampala and Mbale Towns in Uganda". M.Ed. thesis, Makerere University, Kampala.

Ankrah, E. M. (1988) "Education of Women to the Year 2000 and Beyond" in The Future of Education in East Africa. (Proceedings of the Second Professors World Peace Academy of Uganda, PWPA, 1988, Kampala.

Anyang' Nyong'o, P. (1991). Research Priorities for the Education of Girls and Women in Africa. A Research Project of the African Academy of Sciences, Nairobi, Kenya.

Appleton, S; Collier, P; and Horsnek, P (1990) Gender, Education and Employment in Cote d' Ivoire. (Social Dimensions of Adjustments in Sub-Saharan Africa). Working Paper No. 8, Policy Analysis) The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Arnot, M. (1983) "A Cloud Over Co-education: An Analysis of the Forms of Transmission of Class and Gender Relations" in Walker, S and Barton, L (eds) (1983) Gender, Class and Education, The Falmer Press, U . K .

Arnot, M. (1984) "How Shall We Educate Our Sons?". In Deem, R. (ed) (1984) Co-education Reconsidered. Open University Press. Milton Keynes.

Arnot, M. and Weiner, G. (1987) Gender and the Politics of Schooling. The Open University and Century Hutchison Ltd., London.

Ashby, E. (1964) African Universities and Western Tradition, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Asingwiire, N.B.(l991) "Women and AIDS", paper presented at the ACFODE Seminar on Women, Health and Development, 21-24 March 1991, at Lake Victoria Hotel, Entebbe, Uganda. (ACFODE 1991 a)

Askew, S. and Ross, C. (1988) Boys Don't Cry: Boys and Sexism in Education. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

Attar, T. Wasting Girls' Time: The History and Politics of Home Economics. Virago Press Ltd., London.

Auk, P. (1967) "The Development of Girls' Education in Bukedi with Special Reference to Pallisa County". Associateship in Education Paper, National Institute of Education, Makerere University College, 1967.

Avent, C. (1988) Careers Across the Curriculum (A Text for the Integration of Careers Education for Senior Educational Staff and for use in in-service training), Macmillan Education, London.

Ayot, H . O . and Briggs, H . (1988) Economics of Education . Kenyatta University, Kijabe Printing Press, Nairobi, Kenya.

Bagatya, W.Z.K.B. (1992) "An Introduction to Careers in Uganda" (Manuscript).

Bagyendera, H. (1977) "Women's Participation in Clubs". A Research Paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Adrninistration, Makerere University, Karnpala.

Banugire, F.R. (1989), "Uneven and Unbalanced Development: Development Strategies and Conflict". In Rupesinghe, K. (ed), Conflict Resolution in Uganda, International Peace Research Institute, Oslo, in association with James Currey, London.

Bantebya, G. (1991) "The Role of Women in Petty Commodity Production and Commerce. A Case Study of Rural Peasant Women in Uganda". A Research Report.

Banyenzaki, A. (1974) "The Bahororo Marriage Rituals and their Social Implications". in Occaslonal Research Papers in African Religions and Philosophies - compiled by Byaruhanga-Akiiki, A. Vol . 20, June 1974, Makerere University, Kampala.

Baran, P. (1968) The Political Economy of Growth. Monthly Review Press, New York.

Bardouille, R. (1986) Women's Employment Patterns, Discrimination and Promotion of Equality in Africa : The Case of Zambia. Commissioned by The International Labour Organisation, Jobs and Skills Programme for Africa, Addis Ababa.

Barnett, R. (1990) The Idea of Higher Education. The Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University Press, Surrey, U.K.

Beard R. M, Healey F. G. and Holloway P. J. (1974) Objectives in Higher Education. Society for Research into Higher Education Ltd., Surrey, U.K.

Becker, G. S. (1964) Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education. Colombia University Press. New York.

Becker, G. S. (1967) Human Capital and the Personal Distribution of Income: Analytical Approach. The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Becker, G.S. (1971) The Economics of Discrimination. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Illinois.

Becker, G. S. (1980): Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis, with Special Reference to Education (Second Edition), The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Behrman, J. R. (1987) "Schooling in Developing Countries: Which Countries and What is the Schooling Impact?" in Economics of Education Review. Vol. 6, No. 2 pp 111-127 (1987) Pergamon Journals Ltd., U.K.

Belenky, M. F. (1983) Women's Ways of Knowing. (The Development of Self, Voice and Mind) Basic Books, Inc. Publishers, New York.

Bell, J. (1989) Doing Your Own Research. (A Guide for First-Time Researchers in Education and Social Science). The Open University, Milton Keynes, U.K.

Bernard, J. (1964) Academic Women. The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Berryman, S. (1987) "Access to Higher Education: Equal Opportunities for Women" in Journal of Access Studies. Vol. 2, No. 2, P. 22-32, Autumn 1987 Forum for Access Studies (FAST) Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London.

Bigala, J.C.B. (1987) "Higher Education for Development" in The Future of Education in Eastern Africa, Proceedings of the 2nd PWPA Eastern African Regional Conference held in Kampala, Uganda, 22-25 July 1987. The Professors World Peace Academy, 1987).

Biraimah, K. L. (1987) "Class, Gender, and Life Chances: A Nigerian University Case Study" in Comparative Education Review. Vol. 31, No. 4. pp. 570-582. The Comparative and International Education Society. University of Chicago, Chicago.

Birinda, A. (1974) "Bridewealth System Among the Banyarwanda of Bufumbira County, Kigezi, Uganda". Occasional Research Paper No. 207. Makerere University, Department of Religious Studies, Kampala.

Birungi, H. (1992) "Perspectives for the Evolvement of Kinship Credit Systems: a Study of Two Communities in Busoga". In Constraints to a Scope for Rural Development in Uganda. Makerere Institute of Social Research (MISR), 1992. pp. 124-154.

Bisaria, S. (1985) Identification and Elimination of Sex Stereotypes in and From Education Programs and School Textbooks. (Some Suggestions for Action in Asia and the Pacific), Unesco, Paris.

Bisilliat, J. and Fieloux, M. (1987) Women in the Third World: Work and Daily life. Associated University Presses Inc., England.

Bitamazire, G. N. (1987). "Conference on World-wide Education for Women: Progress, Prospects and Agenda for the Future, Mount Hoyke College, 19-21 Jan. 1983, Conference Report, Nairobi, Kenya.

Bitamazire, G. N. (1989). "Why Research on Women in Development? Challenges to Policy Makers and Donors". A paper presented at the National Conference on Research, Data and Documentation on Women in Development in Uganda, at Colline Hotel, Mukono, Uganda.

Bitamazire, G. N. (1990) " A Study of the Occupational Activities of Female Primary School Leavers in Five Selected Villages in Mpigi District" A Research Report to IDRC. (International Development Research Centre), Nairobi.

Blakemore, K and Cooksey, B.(1982) A Sociology of Education for Africa, George Allen & Unwin, London.(Second Edition).

Blaug, M. (1968, 1970) An Introduction to the Economics of Education. The Penguin Press, London.

Blaug, M. (1976) "The Empirical Status of Human Capital Theory: A Slightly Jaundiced Survey", Journal of Economic Literature, Vol.14.No.3, pp.827-855.

Blaug, M. (1985) "Where are we now in the Economics of Education?" in Economics of Education Review, Vol.4,No.l. pp.17-28.

Boserup E. (1970) Women's Role in Economic Development. St. Martin's Press, New York.

Bowles, S. (1972) "Schooling and Inequality from Generation to Generation. In Investment in Education: The Equity-Efficiency Quandary, ed. T.W. Schultz . Journal of Political Economy 80, No. 3 : S219-51.Supplement.

Bowen, H.R. (1977) Investment in Learning: The Individual and Social Value of American Higher Education. Jossey-Bass, San Franscisco, California.

Bowman, M. J. and Anderson, C. A. (1980) "The Participation of Women in Education in the Third World" in Comparative Education Review Vol. 24, No. 2, Part 2, June 1980 pp 13-32. The Comparative and International Education Society. University of Chicago, Chicago.

Boyd, R, Kwesiga, J and Ochieng, L. (1990). Report on Networking Tour in Canada of Representatives from Action for Development in Uganda. Produced by Centre for Developing Area Studies (McGill University) and Action for Development, Kampala.

Boyd, R. (1990) "Women and Debt in Uganda: Implications for New Global Arrangements " . Unpublished Research Report, Centre for Developing Area Studies, McGill University, Canada .

Bray, M. and Clarke, P.B and Stephens, D. (1986) Education and Society in Africa. Edward Arnold (Publishers) Ltd. London.

Brehony, K. (1984) "Co-education: Perspectives and Debates in the Early Twentieth Century". In Deem, R. (1984) Co-education Reconsidered. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

Brock, C. and Cammish, N.K. (1991) Factors Affecting Female Participation in Six Developing Countries. Report submitted to The Overseas Development Agency (ODA). ODA: London.

Brown, W. (1987). "Movement for the Status of Women in Uganda in Relation to Law of Marriage, Divorce and Inheritance". (Manuscript).

Burgess, T. (1981) "Bias is of the Essence", in Is Higher Education Fair? D. W. Piper (ed): Society for Research into Higher Education. Surrey, U.K.

Burgess, T. (1982) "Autonomous and Service Tradition". In Agenda for Institutional Chance in Higher Education. Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE) Guildford, U . K .

Bustillo, I. (1989) Female Educational Attainment in Latin America: A survey. Document No. PHREE/89/16 The World Bank: Washington D.C.

Byrne, E.M. (1978) Women and Education, Tavistock Publications, London.

Byrne, E.M. (1987) "Education for Equality" in Arnot, M. and Weiner, G. (ed) Gender and The Politics of Schooling. Hutchinson, in association with The Open University, London.

Caldwell, J.C. (1979) "Education as a Factor in Mortality Decline: An Examination of Nigerian Data" . in Population Studies, Vol . 33 . No. 3 p. 395-399.

Cameron, J. (1970), The Development of Education in East Africa, Teachers' College, Colombia University, New York.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education (1973) Higher Education: Who Pays? Who Benefits? Who Should Pay? McGraw - Hill Book Company, New York.

Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, (1973) Opportunities for Women in Higher Education (A Report of Recommendations), McGraw - Hill Book Company, New York.

Carnoy, M. and Samoff, J. (1990) Education and Social Transition in the Third World. Princeton University Press, Princeton.

Carnoy, M. and Thias, H.H. (1971) "The Rates of Return to Schooling in Kenya", in Eastern African Economic Review, 1971, pp. 63-103.

Carr-Saunders, A.M. (Chairman) (1955) Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa. The Government Printer, Entebbe. (1969)

Carter, F. (1967) "Education in Uganda, 1894-1945". Ph.D. thesis submitted to the University of London.

Carter, R. (1987) "Women into Engineering: Perspectives on Positive Discrimination from the U.S.A." In International Journal of Science Education. Vol. 9. No. 3. pp375-384.

Castle E.B. (Chairman) (1963). Education In Uganda. (The Uganda Education Commission Report) Government Printer, Entebbe.

Castle, E. B. (1966). Growing Up in East Africa. Oxford University Press.

Cave-Brown-Cave, M.M. (1960) "Some Attempts in Education Amongst Girls in Acholi" in The Ugandan Association of Women Newsletter, December 1961, Kampala.

Chalmers, E. L. (Jr) (1972) "Achieving Equity For Women in Higher Education and Faculty Status" in Journal of Higher Education. Vol. XLIII, No. 7 1972 p 517 Ohio State University Press.

Chamie, M. (1985) National Institutional, and Household Factors Affecting Young Girls' School Attendance in Developing Societies. Produced for The International Centre for Research on Women, Washington D. C. and The Office of Human Resources U.S. Agency for International Development.

Chango Macho w'Obanda (1988). "Education and Fundamental Change in Uganda: Conscientisation and Development". A memorandum submitted to the Education Policy Review Commission.

Chesswas, J. D. (1966). Educational Planning and Development in Uganda. International Institute for Educational Planning, Paris, France.

Chigudu, H. and Tereka S. (1989). " Census of Civil Servants: A gender Sensitive Analysis". A paper presented at the national Conference on Research, Data and Documentation on Women in Development, 13-17 November, Colline Hotel, Mukono, Uganda WID/Ministry.

Chodorow, N. (1978) The Reproduction of Mothering. University of California Press, Berkeley, 1978).

Chole. B. (1991) "Grassroots Perspectives on Africa's Crisis". A paper prepared for the sub-regional African Workshop of NGOs, Nakuru, Kenya 2-6 July 1991.

Cixous, H. (1981) "Castration or Decapitation?" in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society. 7(1) 1981, pp. 41-55.

Cochrane, S. H. (1979) Fertility and Education: What Do We Really Know? World Bank Staff Occasional Papers No. 26. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Cochrane, S. H. (1980) The Effects of Education on Health. World Bank Staff Working paper No. 405. The World Bank Publication, Washington D.C.

Cohen L. and Manion L. (1989) (Third Edition) Research Methods in Education. Routledge, London.

Cohen, Lady (1955). "Women's Advancing Status in Uganda: Increase in Secondary Education", in Colonial Review, Spring 1955, p. 46.

Coleman, J. S. (1990) Equality and Achievement in Education. Westview Press, Boulder, San Francisco.

Collier, P. (1987) Women in Development: Defining the Issues. Wps 129, World Bank Working Paper Series. Washington D.C.

Commonwealth Secretariat (1987) "Gender Stereotyping in Science, Technology and Mathematics Education". Report of a Commonwealth Africa Regional Workshop., held in Accra, Ghana, 12-16 January 1987. Commonwealth Secretariat, London.

Conference of Women Educationists (1950). (To consider the Beacher Report in Relation to the Education of African Girls. 15th-17th August, 1950) Colony and Protectorate of Kenya, Government Printer, Nairobi.

Coombe, T. (1991) "A Consultation on Higher Education in Africa" (A Report to the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation), Department of Comparative Education, Institute of Education, University of London.

Coombs, P. H. (1985) The World Crisis in Education. The View from the Eighties. Oxford University Press, New York.

Coombs, P. H. and Hallak, J. (1972). "Educational Cost Analysis in Action: Case Studies for Planners III (Uganda)" UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris, France.

Cornia, G. A; Jolly, R; and Stewart, F (eds) (1989) Adjustment with a Human Face: Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth. Vol. 1: A study by UNICEF. Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Council of Europe (1982). Sex Stereotyping in Schools. (A Report of the Educational Research Workshop held in Honefoss, 5-8 May 1981) Swets and Zeitlinger, Lisse.

Court, D. and Kinyanjui, K. (1985) Education and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: (The Operation and Impact of Education Systems) Institute for Development Studies, University of Nairobi, Nairobi Kenya.

Cropley, A.J. and Knapper, C.K. (1983) "Higher Education and the Promotion of Lifelong Learning". In Studies in Higher Education Vol.8 No.I 1983 p. 15-21

Csapo, M. (1981) "Religious, Social and Economic Factors Hindering the Education of Girls in Northern Nigeria" in Comparative Education. Vol. 17, No. 3, pp 311-319. Carfax Publishing Ltd., Abingdon, U.K.

Cutrufelli M. R. (1983) Women of Africa: Roots of Oppression. Zed Press, London.

Daly, M. (1973), Beyond God the Father: Toward a Philosophy of Women's Liberation. Beacon Press, Boston.

Datta A. (1984) Education and Society: A Sociology of African Education. MacMillan Publishers, London.

DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) (1988) — Official Interpretation of WID Approach by DAWN discussed in Sen G. and Grown C. (1988) Development, Crises and Alternative Vision: Third World Women's Perspectives. Eastern Publications Ltd. London.

Ddungu,E.(1989) "Popular Forms and the Question of Democracy: The Case of Resistance Councils in Uganda". Working Paper No.4, Centre for Basic Research, Kampala.

De Beauvoir, Simone (1972,1974) , The Second Sex, (translated and edited by Parshley, H.M. Vintage Books.

de Bunsen, B. (Chairman) 1953). African Education in Uganda. Government Printer. Entebbe, Uganda.

de Coninck, J. (1991) "Evaluating the Impact of NGOs in Poverty Alleviation: Uganda Country Study". Overseas Development Institute, London .

De La Warr, Earl (Chairman) (1937). Higher Education in East Africa: (Report of the Commission Appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies). His Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

De Ramos, E. B. (1984) "Working Mothers of Pre-School Children in an Underdeveloped Society" in Women's Studies International. Vol. 7, No. 6, pp 415-422, U.K. Pergamon Press Ltd.

Deble, I. (1980) The School Education of Girls: An International Comparative Study on School Wastage among Girls and Boys at First and Second Levels of Education. UNESCO, Paris.

Deem, R. (1984) Co-education Reconsidered. Open University Press, Milton Keynes.

Delamont, S. (1983) "The Conservative School? Sex Roles at Home, at Work and at School. in Gender, Class and Education. Walker, S and Barton L. (eds). The Falmer Press, U.K.

DENIVA (1990) A Directory of Non-Governmental Organisations in Uganda, The Network of Indigenous Development Associations (DENIVA), Kampala, Uganda .

Denison, E.F. (1962) The Sources of Economic Growth in the United States and the Alternatives Before Us. Committee for Economic Development. New York.

Denison, E.F. (1964) "Measuring the Contribution of Education" In: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) 1964. The Residual Factor and Economic Growth. OECD, Paris.

Diehl, L.A. (1986) "The Paradox of G. Stanley Hall: Foe of Co-education and Educator of Women". American Psychologist. Vol. 41 No.8 p 868-878 American Psychological Association, Inc .

Dixon, M. and Anker, R. (1988) Assessing Women's Economic Contributions to Development. International Labour Organization (ILO) Geneva.

Dodge, C. P. and Wiebe, P. D. (eds) (1985). Crisis in Uganda: The Breakdown of Health Services. Pergamon Press U.K.

Dorsey B. J., Gaidzanwa R. B and Mupawaenda A. C. (1989) Factors Affecting Academic Careers for Women at the University of Zimbabwe. Human Resources Research Centre, University of Zimbabwe.

Douglas, R. L. (1955). "Education for African Girls - Purpose and Possibilities" in The East and West Review, Vol. xxi, April 1955, No. 2, pp 47-49.

Dudovits, R. L. (ed) (1984) Women in Academe. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Duncan, W. (1985) Schooling for Girls in Botswana: Education or Domestication?". Working Paper No. 49, National Institute of Development Research and Documentation, University of Botswana.

Dupont B. (1981) Unequal Education. UNESCO, Paris

Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Program (ESAURP) (1985) The Development of Higher Education in Eastern and Southern Africa. (Edited by L.P. Tembo, P. L. Pitso, M.D. El Khallifa, P. M. Makhurane, M. Dilgassa, Hedaya Educational Books Ltd., Nairobi.

Eastern and Southern African Universities Research Program (ESAURP) (1987) University Capacity in Eastern and Southern African Countries. James Currey Ltd., London.

Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (1986), Trends and Issues in African Education (Guidance and Counselling Programmes and Occupational/ Psychological Testing), Education Monograph No. 4, ECA, Addis Ababa.

Education Ministry of (1964). "A Handbook on Uganda Secondary Education". Kampala, 1964, Ministry of Education, Kampala, Uganda.

Education Ministry of (1984). Development of Education in Uganda, 1981-1983. (Prepared for 39th session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva, 16-25 October 1984. The Uganda Commission for UNESCO, Kampala.

Education Ministry of (1990). The Development of Education in Uganda. A Country Paper Compiled in Preparation for the World Conference on Education for All). (WCOEFA), Thailand, March 1990. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda. (MOE 1990).

Education Ministry of (1958/59). Education in Uganda. (Sessional Paper No. 2 of 1958/59. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Education Ordinance, (1959). Uganda Protectorate - Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Education, Ministry of (1958). Higher Education in East Africa. (White Paper issued jointly by the Government of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar). Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Education, Ministry of, (1981). "Uganda National Education Conference held at the International Conference Centre 12-16 January 1981. Uganda Government Printer.

Education, Ministry of, (1989). Education for National Integration and Development: Report of Education Policy Review Commission. (EPRC 1989) Ministry of Education, Uganda.

Education, Ministry of, (1992) Government White Paper on The Education Policy Review Commission Report: Education for National Integration and Development, April 1992) Government Printer, Entebbe.

Education, Ministry of (1973) The Inaugural National Curriculum Conference Report. NCDC, Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Education, Ministry of (1975) Uganda National Commission for UNESCO. Educational Development in Uganda, 1973/75. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Education, Ministry of (1981) Uganda National Commission for UNESCO. Educational Development in Uganda, 1978-1980. The Uganda National Commission for UNESCO. Kampala, Uganda.

Education,Ministry of, (1970) Report of the Visitation Committee to Makerere University College, June 1970. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Education,Ministry of, (1987) Report of the Visitation Committee to Makerere University. Government Printer, Entebbe .

Edwards E. G. (1982) Higher Education for Everyone. Spokesman Bertrand Russell House, Nottingham U.K.

El-Sanabary, N. (1989) Determinants of Women's Education in the Middle East and North Africa: Illustrations from Seven Countries. Document No. PHREE/89/14. The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Eliou, M. (1987) "Equality of the Sexes in Education: and Now What?", in Comparative Education, Vol. 23. No.2, 1987, pp. 59-67. Carfax Publishing Ltd. Abingdon, U.K.

Elliot, C. M. and Kelly, G. P. (1980) "Perspectives on the Education of Women on Third World Nations" In Comparative Education Review. Vol. 24, No. 2, Part 2, June 1980 pp 1-12. The Comparative and International Education Society. University of Chicago.

Engels, F. (1972). The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State. Lawrence & Wishart, London.

Erny, P. (1972), The Child and His Environment in Black Africa: An Essay On Traditional Education (Translated, Abridged and Adapted by G.J. Wanjohi, 1981), Oxford University Press, Nairobi.

Esanu, C. (1991) "Educational Cost Analysis in Secondary Schools in Uganda (1980-1990)" . A Research Paper submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the B.Stat. Degree at Makerere University, Kampala.

Eshiwani, G. S. (1982) "A Study of Women's Access to Higher Education with Special Reference to Science and Mathematics Education." A Research Report. Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University College, Kenya.

Eshiwani, G. S. (1990). Implementing Educational Policies in Kenya. (World Bank Discussion Papers {Africa} Technical Department Series No. 85). The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Etoori, D. (1991). "Factors Affecting Participation of Women in Higher Education in Uganda". in Abidi S.A.H. (ed) Education for Development, Foundation for African Development, Kampala, Uganda.

European Economic Community (EEC) (1991) Uganda 1991: Country Profile. EEC, Brussels .

Evans, D. and Schimmel, G. L. (1970) The Impact of a Diversified Educational Program on Career Goals: Tororo Girls' School in the Context of Girls' Education in Uganda. Centre for International Education, Massachusetts.

Evans, D. R. (1972). "Image and Reality: Career Goals of Educated Ugandan Women" in Canadian Journal of African Studies Vi, ii, 1972, p 213-232. Canadian Association of African Studies.

Fafunwa, A. B. and Aisiku, J. V. (eds) (1982). Education in Africa: A Comparative Survey. George Allen and Unwin Publishers Ltd., London.

Fägerlind, I. (1987) "Ability: Effects on Earnings", in Psacharopoulos,G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Fägerlind, I. and Saha, L. J. (1983,1989) Education and National Development. A Comparative Perspective 2nd Edition. Pergaman Press, Oxford.

Fallers, L.A. (1957) "Some Determinants on Marriage Stability in Busoga". in Africa, 27 . 1957 .

Finance, Ministry of, (1978). Budget Speech. Delivered at the Uganda International Conference Centre, Kampala on Saturday, 24 June 1978 by the Minister of Finance. Hon. Al-Haji, Brig. Moses Ali, DSO, MC,FIBA. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Finance, Ministry of, (1987). Budget Speech. Delivered at the meeting of the National Resistance Council in the Parliamentary Buildings on Friday July 24 1987 by the Minister of Finance. Hon. Dr. C. W. C. B. Kiyonga, Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Finance, Ministry of, (1990). Budget Speech. Delivered at the meeting of the national Resistance Council in Parliamentary Buildings on Thursday, 28th June 1990 by the Minister of Finance. Hon Dr. CW.C.B. Kiyonga. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Finch J. and Rustin M. (eds). (1986). A Degree of Choice: Education After Eighteen. Penguin Books Ltd., Middlesex, England.

Finn, J. D., Reis J. and Dulberg, L. (1980) "Sex Differences in Educational Attainment: The Process" Comparative Education Review. Vol. 24, No. 2, part 2, June 1980 pp 33-52. The Comparative and International Education Society, University of Chicago.

Foster, P. (1987) "The Contribution of Education to Development", in Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Fountain Publishers Ltd, (1991). Uganda: 1986 - 1991: An Illustrated Review. Kampala, Uganda.

Freud, S. (1965,1977) Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, Vol. 7 of the Standard Edition of Complete Psychological Works of Sigmund Freud. Translated by James Strachey. The Institute of Psychoanalysis and the Hogarth Press 1977. REproduced in Weiner, G. and Arnot, M. (1987) Gender Under Scrutiny: New Inquiries in Education. The Open University, Hutchinson, London.

French, M. (1985) Beyond Power: On women, Men and Morals. Summit Books, New York.

Fulton O. (1988). "Elite Survivals? Entry 'Standards' and Procedures for Higher Education Admissions" in Studies in Higher Education Vol. 13, No. 1, p.15-1988 Carfax Publishing Ltd. U.K.

Fulton O. (ed) (1981). Access to Higher Education. Society for Research into Higher Education, U.K.

Fulton, O, Gordon A, and Williams (1982). Higher Education and Manpower Planning. (A Comperative Study of Planned and Market Economies) International Labour Organisation (ILO), Geneva.

Furley, O. W. and Watson, T. (1978) A History of Education in East Africa. NOK Publishers Ltd., Nigeria.

Gateley, I. M. (1968). "The Traditional Education of Women and Girls in Uganda". M.A. (Education) Thesis, University of London.

Gateley, I. M. (1971). "The Formal Education of African Women and Girls in Uganda; Some Factors and Social Changes Involved in its Acceptance" Ph.D. Thesis; University of London.

Gaudreault, Sr. M. L. (1966). "A Comparative Study of Girls' Education in Uganda and the United Kingdom with Special Reference to Co-Education" A Report for the Associateship of the Institute of Education, University of London. June 1966.

Gertler, P and Glewwe P. (1990) "Gender Differences and the Willingness to Pay for Education: Evidence From Rural Peru. Draft Research Report, LSR-287/PGP/AM/9.06.90. The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Gertler, P. and Glewwe. (1989). The Willingness to Pay for Education in Developing Countries (Evidence from Rural Peru) The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Gertzel, C. (1991). Uganda: An Annotated Bibliography of Source Materials (with Particular Reference to the Period since 1971 and up to 1988). Hans Zell Publishers, London.

Giroux H. and Purpel D. (1983). The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education: Deception or Discovery? McCutchan Publishing Corporation, U.S.A.

Glewwe, P. (1990). Schooling, Skills and the Returns to Government Investments in Education: An Exploration Using Data from Ghana. The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Glewwe, P. and Jacoby, H. (1992). "Student Achievement and Schooling Choice in Low Income Countries: Evidence from Ghana". A Preliminary Report for the World Bank, Washington D. C.

Gordon, A and Williams, G. (1977) "Attitudes of Fifth and Sixth Formers to School, Work and Higher Education". Report submitted to The Department of Education and Science, March 1977. Institute for Research and Developrnent in Post-Cornpulsory Education, University of Lancaster.

Gould, W.T.S. (1974) "Secondary School Admission Policies in Eastern Africa: Some Regional Issues". In Comparative Education Review, Vol . 18, No. 3 October 1974, pp. 374 -387 . Comparative and International Education Society, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Government of Uganda and NRC Committee on the Economy. "First Report on the State of the Economy". (1991) Kampala, Uganda. (National Assembly). Government Printer, Entebbe.

Government of Uganda: Memorandum by the Protectorate Government on the Report of the African Education Committee (1953). Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Grafton, T., Miller, H., Smith, L, Vegoda, M,and Whitfield, R. (1987) "Gender and Curriculum Choice", in Arnot, M. and Weiner, G. (eds) Gender and the Politics of Schooling. Hutchinson, in association with The Open University, London.

Graham, M.M. (1947) "Women Students". in Makerere. Vol. 1. No. 2, May 1947, p. 50. Makerere College, Kampala.

Graham-Brown, S. (1991), Education in the Developing World: Conflict and Crisis, Longman, London.

Grawe R. (1979). Ability in Pre-Schoolers, Earnings, and Home - Environment. (World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 322). World Bank Publication

Griffen E. and Alexander D. H. (1958). Higher Education in East Africa. East Africa Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika and His Highness' Government of Zanzibar, Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Griffin, A. and Smithers, A. (1984) "Prospective Mature Students: Those Who Did Not Apply. in Studies in Higher Education, Vol.9 No. 1 1984.

Gumisiriza, E. (1989) "Administrative Problems Associated with the Structural Set-up of the System of Education in Uganda". Unpublished, ITEK, Kampala .

Hansen, H. B. and Twaddle, M. (eds) (1988). Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development. James Currey Ltd., London.

Hansen, H. B. and Twaddle, M. (eds) (1991). Changing Uganda. James Currey Ltd., London.

Hanson J. W. and Brembeck C. S. (1966). Education and the Development of Nations. Hott, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. U.S.A.

Harbison, F. and Myres, C. A. (1964). Education, Manpower and Economic Development. McGraw - Hill Book Company, U.S.A.

Harmsworth, C.(1986) "The Economic Status of Rural Women in Uganda", Research Report.Mimeo.

Hawes, H. (1982) "Universities and the Quality of School Education in Developing Countries ". (Occasional Paper No . 2, University of London Institute of Education, London.

Health, Ministry of (1989) (DHS) Uganda Demographic Health Survey 1988/1989. Ministry of Health, Entebbe, Uganda.

Heyneman, S. P. and Jamison, D. T. (1980) "Student Learning in Uganda: Textbook Availability and Other Factors". In International Review of Education Vol. 24, No. 1, 1980 P206-22-. UNESCO Institute for Education, Hamburg.

Hicks, N. (1980) Economic Growth and Human Resources. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 408. Washington D.C.

Hicks, N.L. (1987) "Education and Economic Growth", in Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Hinchliffe, J.K. (1987a) "The Alpha Coefficient" in Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Hinchliffe, K. (1987b). Higher Education in Sub-Saharan Africa, Croom-Helm Ltd., Kent, U.K.

Hoenack S. A. (1987). "A Study of Costs and Internal Efficiency at Makerere University". Unpublished.

Hussey, C.M.G. (1937). "Higher Education in East Africa: A Report of the Commission appointed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies" (A review by E.R.J. Hussey) in Journal of the Royal African Society 3 November 1937, Vo. xxxvi.

Hyde, K.A.L. (1989). Improving Women's Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Review of the Literature. (Document No. PHREE/89/15). The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Hyde, K.A.L. (1991) "Sub-Saharan Africa". In King, E.M. and Hill, M.A. (eds) (1991) Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policy. PHREE Background Paper Series, The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Ibanda, I. (1991) "Socioeconomic Constraints and Women's Health". Paper presented at the ACFODE Seminar on Women, Health and Development, 21-24 March 1991, at Lake Victoria Hotel, Entebbe, Uganda.ACFODE (1991a)

Ilon, L. (1991) "Girls' Schooling Access, Persistence and Success in Malawi: A Descriptive Report". Prepared for USAID - Malawi.

Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) (1985) "Report of the Working Party on Single-Sex and Co-Education - Admissions and the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 " . ILEA, London .

International Encyclopedia of Higher Education (1977) - Editor-in-Chief Asa S. Knowles, Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco.

International Labour Organization. (1988). Assessing Women's Economic Contributions to Development by Ruth Dixon - Mueller and Richard Anker. Switzerland. International Labour Office (ILO), Geneva.

International Labour Organization. (1992). Increasing Women's Participation in Technical Fields (prepared by Leigh-Doyle, S) International Labour Office, Geneva.

Irigaray, L. (1981) "And the One Doesn't Stir Without the Other" in Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society ,7(1), 1981 pp.60-70)

Jabre, B. (1988). Women's Education in Africa (A Survey of Field Projects in Five Countries). UNESCO - UNICEF Co-operative Program, Paris.

Jaggar, A.M. (1983) Feminist Politics and Human Nature. Rowman and Allanheld, New York.

Jamison, D.T. and Lau, L.J. (1982) Farmer Education and Farm Efficiency. Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore, Md.

Jignasu, F. N. (1968). "A Study of Girls' Education in Karamoja". A Report Presented to the Board of Examiners of the National Institute of Education, Makerere University College in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Associateship in Education, Part II. November, 1968.

Joekes, S.P. (1989) Women in the World Economy (An INSTRAW Study) Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Kabuzi, R. (1986). "Status and Condition of Women in Uganda". LL. B Research Paper, Makerere University, Uganda.

Kabwegyere, T. (1974) The Politics of State Formation. East African Publishing House, Nairobi.

Kabwegyere, T. (1990), "Culture and Women's Health", Paper presented at the ACFODE Seminar on Women as Providers and Promoters of Health, 17-19 October 1990, held at The International Conference Centre, Kampala, Uganda. (ACFODE 1990 a)

Kagenda Atwoki (1973) "Makerere University: The Crisis of Identity" in Yesufu, T.M.(1973) Creating the African University: Emerging Issues in the 1970s. Oxford University Press, Ibadan.

Kajubi, W. S. (Chairman) (1978). Education for National Development. Report of the Education Policy Review Commission, December 1978. (Unpublished).

Kajubi, W. S. (1990). "The University and Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Makerere In Uganda". Unpublished.

Kajubi, S.W. (l991a) "Whither Ugandan Education? Challenges and Opportunities" in Abidi, S.A.H. (ed)(l991) Education for Development. Foundation for African Development, Kampala, Uganda.

Kajubi, S.W.(l991b) "Educational Reform During Socio-economic Crisis" in Hansen, H.B. and Twaddle, M. (eds) (1991), Changing Uganda. James Currey, London.

Kajubi, W.S. (1992a) Address by the Vice-Chancellor, Professor W. Senteza Kajubi on the Occasion of the 28th Cengregation of Makerere University held on Friday 20th March 1992, Kampala, Uganda.

Kajubi, S.W.(1992b) "Financing of Higher Education in Uganda", in Higher Education, Vol.23.No.4 June 1992, pp. 433-441, Kluwer Academic Publishers, Netherlands.

Kakooza T.K. (1975) "A Study of the Differences between the Attitudes of Boys and Girls in Senior Three of Kampala Secondary Schools Towards Mathematics". M.Ed. thesis, Makerere University, Kampala.

Kakwenzire, J. (1990). "The NRM Government: Prospects for Fundamental Reform: Women and Change under the National Resistance Movement Government. Focus on Discriminatory Laws of Uganda". Minary Centre, Dortmouth College 7 - 8 April 1990. Unpublished.

Kalema, W.W. (Chairman) (1965) Report of the Commission on Marriage, Divorce and the Status of Women. The Government Printer, Entebbe.

Kalule-Settala, C. 91966) "The Uganda Association of Women's Organisations" in The Uganda Association of University Women Newsletter, 6th November 1966, Kampala.

Kanyerezi, M. (1974) "Marriage in Buganda". In Occasional Research Papers in African Religions and Philosophies. Compiled by Byaruhanga-Akiiki, A. (1974) Makerere University, Kampala.

Kasente, D. (1983). "A Study of Social Development Guidance Needs for Adolescent Girls in Kampala Schools". M.Ed. Thesis, Makerere University, Uganda.

Katahoire, A. (1989) "The Role of Non-Formal Education (NFE) in Equipping Women in Uganda with Skills for Employment". A Research Report submitted to the International Development Research Centre, Nairobi .

Katusabe, M.G. (1991) "Techniques of Study". A paper presented at the Workshop of the Uganda Association of University Women on Career Guidance and Counselling, 30 October -lst November 1991 at Africa Hall, Makerere University, Kampala.

Kavulu, D. (1990). "Women's Education in Rural Areas and their Role as Trainers in the Community" in Abidi S.A. (ed) Uganda Women in Development. Foundation for African Development, Kampala.

Kyasiimire, E. (1992) "Income Generating and Credit for Women: The Experience of the Ministry for Women in Development, Culture and Youth". (A Paper Prepared for UNICEF, Uganda).

Keino, E. (1985) "Opportunity for Females in Technical Training in Kenya: A Focus on the Primary, Secondary and Post-Secondary Levels of Training". in Kenya Journal of Education, Vol.2 No. 1. 1983 Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University College, Kenya.

Kelly, A. (1982) Summary Report for The Council for Europe on Sex Stereotyping in Schools. Workshop held in Honefoss, 5-8 May 1981 Swets and Zeitlinger, Lisse .

Kelly, G. P. (1984). "Women's Access to Education in the Third World; Myths and Realities" in World Year Book of Education 1984. Kogan Page Ltd., London.

Kelly, G. P. (1987) "Setting State Policy on Women's Education in the Third World: Perspectives from Comparative Research". Comparative Education. Vol. 23, No.1, 1987 pp 95-102. Carfax Publishing Ltd., Abingdon, U.K.

Kelly, G. P. and Elliott C. M. (eds) (1981). Women's Education in the Third World: Comparative Perspectives. State University of New York Press, Albany.

Kelly, M. J. (1991) Education in a Declining Economy: The Case of Zambia 1975-1985. The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Khan, Q. (1991) "Primary Education in Uganda - Some Observations" in Abidi, S.A.H.(ed) (1991) Education for Development, Foundation for African Development, Kampala. Uganda.

Khan, S. R. (1989). Barriers to Female Education in South Asia. Document No. PHREE/89/17. The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Khorono O. (1966). "A Report on Development of Education in Sebei District". (A research paper deposited in Makerere University Library, Education School, Kampala).

Kianda, D. (1973) "The Future of Secondary Education in Uganda" . In National Curriculum Conference Inaugural Report, 1973, Ministry of Education, Kampala, Uganda .

King, E. (1990). Educating Girls and Women: Investing in Development. The World Bank, Washington D.C.

King, E.M. and Hill, M.A. (eds) (1991) Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policy. PHREE Background Paper Series, Document No. PHREE/91/40. The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Kirunda, M.F. (1976) "Women's Education in Buddu and its Social Consequences". M.Ed. thesis, Makerere University, Kampala.

Kiwanuka, J. (1942) Ku Bintu By'okufumbirwa", Masaka, 1942, cited by Ndidde, A. (1992) "Marriage Patterns in Uganda", unpublished research paper, Makerere University, Kampala .

Kiwanuka, M.S.M. (1967) "The Crisis of Education in Uganda: Rich Man's Harvest"? East African Journal, Vol. IV (2) (May 1967),pp.19-23. Nairobi.

Konek, C.W, Kitch S.L., Hammond G.E. (1980). Design for Equity (Women and Leadership in Higher Education). U.S. Education Centre.

Kristeva, J. (1982) Desire in Language, (translated by Roudiez, L.,Columbia University Press, New York.

Kunene, E.C.L. and Mascarenhas, O.E. (1989). "Report on CIDA/ACU Women's Needs Assessment Survey". (Eastern and Southern Africa). Unpublished.

Kuper, W. (1978) "Higher Education in Africa in the Service of Development: On the Peripheralization of Higher Education". In Education: A Biannual Collection of Recent German Contributions to the field of Educational Research. Vol. 18. Tuberngen, Landhausstre. Institute for Scientific Co-operation.

Kwapong, A. (1972) cited in Wandira, A. (1977) The African University in Development. Raven Press. Johannesburg.

Kwesiga, J.C. (1991) "Barriers to Women's Advancement At Makerere University". A Paper Presented At The Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of International Development (CASID), Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, June 3 -5 1991.

Kwesiga, J. C. (1988) "Managing a University Under a Changing Environment: A Case Study of Makerere University". Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts, University of London Institute of Education, London .

Kyobe, E. (1989). "Women in Technical Education (WITED)" (A Survey of Factors Influencing Women's Participation in Technical Training and Jobs - Carried out in Kampala - Uganda). Research Sponsored by CAPA and ILO, NORAD, and The Ford Foundation.

Kyolibona, F . (1981) "A Study on Attitudes Towards Contraception and Family Size among the Rural Bakiga Women of South Kigezi". A Research paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Administration, Makerere University, Kampala.

Lambie, W. (1988) "Feminism and Schools". In The Education Digest, March 1988, pp.19-21.

Langland E. and Gove W. (1991). A Feminist Perspective in the Academy. (The Difference it Makes). The University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Lasser, C. (1987). Educating Men and Women Together: Co-Education in a Changing World. University of Illinois Press, U.S.A.

Lauglo, J. (1982) "The 'Utilitarian University', the 'Centre of Academic Learning' and Developing Countries". Occasional Papers No.2 Department of Education in Developing Countries, University of London Institute of Education, London.

Le Vine, R.A. (1980). "Influences of Women's Schooling on Maternal Behaviour in the Third World" in Comparative Education Review. Vol. 24, No. 2, Part 2, June 1980 pp 78-105. The Comparative and International Educational Education Society. University of Chicago.

Lee, V. E. and Lockheed, M.E. (1989). The Effects of Single-Sex Schooling on Student Achievement and Attitudes in Nigeria. WPS 206. The World Bank, Washington D.C. (Also published by The Comparative Education Review Vol. 34 No. 2 (1990).

Levy, M.B. (1971). "Determinants of Primary School Dropouts in Developing Countries" in Comparative Education Review. Vol. 15; pp.44-58. Comparative and International Education Society. University of Chicago.

Lewenhak, S (1992), The Revaluation of Women's Work, Earthscan Publications Limited, London.

Lewis, J. (1983). Women's Welfare: Women's Rights. Croom Helm Ltd., Kent, U.K.

Lewis, S.G. (Team Leader) (1990) "Constraints to Girls' Persistence in Primary School and Women's Employment Opportunities in the Education Service". A Report to the Ministry of Education and Culture and USAID/Malawi, September 11, 1990, Lilongwe, Malawi.

Lewis, W.A. (1955) The Theory of Economic Growth. Allen and Unwin, London.

Lind, E.M. (1955) "The Role of Women in the University" a paper presented at the African University Conference on "The Role and Responsibility of the University in Africa, Geneva, organised by The World University Service.

Local Government, Ministry of, (1989) Non-Governmental Organisations Statute, 1989, Uganda Government Printer, Entebbe .

Lockheed, M. E. and Longford, M. T. (1989). A Multilevel Model of School Effectiveness in a Developing Country No. 69, World Bank Discussion Papers, The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Lockheed, M. E. and Verspoor, A. M. (1990). Improving Primary Education in Developing Countries: A Review of Policy Options. (Prepared for the 1990 World Conference on Education for all, Bangkok). The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Lockheed, M.E. (1987) "Farmers' Education and Economic Performance", in Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Lubega, F. (1962) "The Future of Women in an Independent Uganda" in The Uganda Association of University Women Newsletter, October 1962, Kampala.

Lungu, G.L. (ed) (1988) Women and Development in Africa. (Proceedings of a Conference of the Professors World Peace Academy, Zambia Chapter July 3-6, 1987 - Siavonga, Kariba, Zambia. Professors World Peace Academy, Lusaka, Zambia.

Lungwangwa, G. (1988) "Higher Education, Women and Development in Zambia" in Lungu, G.L. (ed) (1988) Women and Development in Africa. Professors World Peace Academy, Lusaka, Zambia.

Mace, M. The Economics and Financing of Education. Open University. Allama Iqbaql.

Macpherson, M. (1964). They Built for the Future (A Chronicle of Makerere University College, 1922 - 1962). Cambridge University Press.

Mafabi-Madaba, R.C.C. (1973) "The History of Women's Education in Bugishu". Research paper for the requirement of the Bachelor of Arts Degree, History Departrnent, Makerere University, Kampala.

Magala, V. S. (1991). Careers for Ugandans. Crane Publishers Ltd., Kampala.

Mahony, P. (1982)"'Silence is a Woman's Glory': The Sexist Content of Education". in Women's Studies Interntional Forum. Vol.5 No.5 p. 463-473.

Mahony, P. (1983). "How Alice's Chin Really Came to be Pressed Against her Foot. Sexist Processes of Interaction in Mixed Classrooms" in Women's Studies International Forum. Vol. 6., No. 1 pp 107-115. U.K. Pergamon Press Ltd., New York.

Maitum, M.I.D.E. (1983). "Women and the Law". A paper presented to Uganda Association of University Women, at Makerere University, 29 June 1983.

Makerere University (1987). Projects and Proposals for the Rehabilitation and Development of Makerere University: (Donors' Conference 6th-10th June 1987). Kampala, Uganda. Makerere University Printery.

Makerere University (1987). Report of the Donors' Conference held 6th-10th July 1987 at Kampala Uganda.

Makerere University Women Staff (1987). A memorandum to the Makerere University Visitation Committee, 1987., Kampala Uganda.

Makumbi, T.A.K. (1961) "The Status of Women in Uganda" in The Uganda Association of University Women Newsletter, December 1961, Kampala.

Maleche, A.J. (1961) "Sociological and Psychological Factors Favouring or Hindering the Education of African Women in Uganda". A Research Report. East African Institute of Social Research, Makerere University, Kampala.

Maliyamkono, T. L. Ishumi A.G.M. and Wells S. J. (1982) Higher Education and Development in Eastern Africa. (A Report of the Eastern African Universities Research Project on the Impact of Overseas Training and Development. Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., London.

Maloba, S.B.(l991a) "Some Aspects of Technical Education and Options Other Than University: The Prejudice". A paper presented at the Workshop of The Uganda Association of University Women on Career Guidance and Counselling, Africa Hall, Makerere University, Kampala, 30 October to 1st November 1991.

Maloba, S.B. (1991 (b)) "The Scourge of Secondary Education in Uganda". In Abidi, S .A. H . (1991) Education for Development . Foundation for African Development, Kampala, Uganda .

Martim, E.K.A. (1985) "The Dependence of 'O' and 'A' Level Results on the Sex of the Examinees". Kenya Journal of Education, Vol.2 No.I 1985. Bureau of Educational Research, Kenyatta University College, Kenya .

Masemann, V. (1974). 'The "Hidden Curriculum" in a West African Girls' Boarding School' in Canadian Journal of African Studies, Vol. viii, No. 3, 1974, P. 479-494. Canadian African Studies Association.

Matembe, M. R. K. (1989a) "Issues of Gender Discrimination". A paper presented at a National Conference on Human Rights, with the theme of "Ethical and Legal Aspects of International Human Rights Standards in Contemporary Africa". at Makerere University. 26.7.89.

Matembe, M.R.K. (1989b) Uganda's Country Report: Presented at the Fourth Regional Conference on the "Integration of Women in Development: Implementation of the Arusha Strategies for the Advancement of Women in Africa. October 6.10.1989, Abuja, Nigeria.

Matembe, M.R.K. (1990). "Involvement of Grassroots Women and Women's Organization in the Constitutional Reform Process in Uganda". A paper presented at the WID Regional Conference 26th February to 3rd March 1990, Harare, Zimbabwe.

Matovu, P.C. (1991) "Career Guidance and Counselling at Different School Levels". A paper presented at the Workshop of The Uganda Association of University Women on Career Guidance and Counselling, 30 October 1st November 1991 at Africa Hall, Makerere University, Kampala.

Mayer, D. (1991) "Social Mobilization for Education in Malawi" - Research Report.

Mbamanya, J. (1989), "Factors Affecting Age At First Marriage and Their Implications on Development (A Case Study of Ankole 1984). Paper presented at a National Conference on Research, Data and Documentation on Women in Development, 13-17 November 1989 at Colline Hotel, Mukono, Uganda.

Mbilinyi, M. (1969) "A Study of Attitudes of Tanzanian Girls and their Fathers towards Education". University of Dar-es-Salaam 1969.

Mbilinyi, M. (1984). "Research Priorities in Women's Studies in Eastern Africa" in Women's Studies International Forum Vol. 7 No. 4, pp 289-300 1984. Pergamon Press Ltd. (1984).

Mbilinyi, M. J. (1972). "The 'New Woman' and Traditional Norms in Tanzania" in The Journal of Modern African Studies, 10, (1972), pp. 57-72.

McClelland, D.C. (1961,1969) Motivating Economic Achievement. Free Press. New York.

McGregor,G.P. (1967), King's College, Budo: The First Sixty Years. Oxford University Press, Nairobi.

McGuire, J. S. and Popkin, B. M. (1990) Helping Women Improve Nutrition in the Developing World. (Beating the Zero Sum Game). World Bank Technical Paper No. 114. The World Bank, Washington D. C.

McMahon, W.W. (1987a) "Expected Rates of Returns to Education", in Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

McMahon, W.W. (1987b) "Externalities in Education", In Psacharopoulos ,G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Middleton, S. (1987) "The Sociology of Women's Education as a Field of Academic Study". In Arnort, M. and Weiner, G. (1987) Gender and the Politics of Schooling. The Open University, Hutchinson, London.

Mies, M., Bennholdt-Thomsen, V and Werlhof C.V. (1988). Women: The Last Colony. Zed Books Ltd., London

Miller, D.S. (1956) African Education Development Plan (Non-Technical) Progress Report 1953-1955. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Millet, K. (1970) Sexual Politics. Doubleday, Garden City, New York.

Millman, V. and Weiner, G. (1985). Sex Differentiation in Schooling: Is there a Problem? (Final Report from the Former Schools Canal Project on Reducing Sex Discrimination in Schools). Schools Canal Publications: Longman, York, U.K.

Mincer, J. (1974) Schooling, Experience and Earnings. National Bureau of Economic Research, New York.

Mincer, J. and Polachek, S. (1974) "Family Investments in Human Capital: Earnings of Women", in Journal of Political Economy. Vol.82, pp.76-108.

Mirembe, F. and Turyasingura, D. (1989) "Maternal Health in Uganda", Conference Paper Published in UNDP (1992 a).

Mitchell, J. (1971) Woman's Estate. . Pantheon Books, New York.

Mitchell, J. (1974) Psychoanalysis and Feminism. Allen Lane, London.

Momsen, J.H. (ed) (1991) Women and Development in the Third World, Routledge, London.

Moore, K. M. (1987) "Women's Access and Opportunity in Higher Education: Toward the Twenty-first Century" in Comparative Education Vol. 23, No. 1, 1987. pp 23-34. Carfax Publishing Ltd. Abingdon, U.K.

Morris,H.F. (1966) "Family Law in Uganda" - Appendix to Chapter 2 in Brown, W. (1987) "Movement for the Status of Women in Uganda in Relation to Laws of Marriage, Divorce, and Inheritance". Manuscript.

Morris, V. (1977) "Education as a Social Investment" in The Planning of Higher Education: The Social Demand. Open University. The Open University Press, U.K.

Mpanga, J. (1987). "Opportunities for Women's Education" A talk given at the Donors' Conference for Makerere University, 6-10 July 1987. Kampala, International Conference Centre.

Mpanga, J. (1988) (Minister) "Policy Statement to the National Resistance Council". Ministry for Women in Development, Kampala.

Mpanga, J. (1989). "Historical Background on the Position of Women in Society and the Need to Reflect on their Contribution in Development: A Global Picture with Special References to Ugandan Situation". A paper presented at the National Conference on Research, Data and Documentation in Development, held at Colline Hotel, Mukono 13-17 November 1989 - Organised by WID.

Mubangizi-Mushega, A.A. (1980) "The Extent of Pregnancy in Secondary Schools in Kampala". A Research paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Administration, Makerere University, Karnpala.

Mubungha-Makasi, B . (1981) "The Education of Girls in Bwamba: An Exploratory Study". A Research paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Adrninistration, Makerere University, Karnpala.

Mugyimba-Nimbatsa, E. (1989). "The Ministry of Women in Development". A paper presented at the Legal Workshop Organised by Action for Development in Tororo from the 10-16th September 1989. Uganda.

Mulyanti, M. (1947). "Educated Women" in Makerere Vol. 2, No. 4, December 1947. (p.15) Makerere College Journal, Uganda.

Muranga, F. (1991) "Girls' Attitudes Toward Science Education". Uganda Association of University Women, 1991. (Mimeo).

Musannyana, E.J.W. (1972). "Ugandan Education, 1922 to the Present: A study in Organisation Administrative and Policy Changes" A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in Partial fulfilment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Education. Calgary, Alberta.

Museveni, Y.K. (1986) Unwritten Address to Ugandan women at celebrations to mark the International Women's Day, 8th March, 1986, at the International Conference Centre, Kampala, Uganda.

Museveni, Y. K. (1987). Uganda's Economic Policy Package for Reconstruction and Development. (An Address to the Nation by His excellency President Y.K. Museveni, at a special session of the National Resistance Council on Friday 5th May 1987. The Government Printer, Entebbe.

Museveni, Y. K. (1989). Address on the Occasion of the State Opening of the First Session of the Expanded National Resistance Council, Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Museveni, Y. K. (1990). President Yoweri K. Museveni's Address to UNFPA Sub-Saharan Africa Regional Meeting on Population. November 14th, 1990, Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, Kampala Uganda.

Museveni, Y. K. (1991). Building Uganda for the Future. Address by H.E. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, President o the Republic of Uganda, to Makerere University Students and Staff at Freedom Square, Makerere University, Kampala, June 8, 1991. Uganda Government Printer Entebbe.

Musoke, M.G. and Amajo,M. (1989) "Women's Participation in the Existing Credit Schemes in Uganda". A Research Report to UNIFEM, New York and Ministry of Women in Development, Kampala .

Musoke, M.G.N. (1990). "Women in the Professions: Challenges and Prospects of Careerism in Uganda since Independence". A Research Report to the Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSREA).

Musoke, M.G.N. (1992) "Income Generating Activities and Credit to Women in Uganda". (A Paper Prepared for UNICEF, Uganda).

Mutibwa, O.M.N. (1986). "Women in Uganda". - A Bibliography compiled for the Uganda Association of University Women, Kampala.

Mutibwa, O. (1988). "Ugandan Women in High-Level Decision Making Positions" February 1988: A Preliminary Survey. (Manuscript).

Mutibwa, O. (1989). "The Need to Document and Disseminate Data, Research and Information on Women". A paper presented at the National Conference on Research, Data and Documentation on Women in Development, Mukono, Uganda, 13-17 November, 1989, WID.

Mwaka, V. (1987) "The Role of Professional Women in the Building of Uganda". In The Uganda Association of University Women Bulletin, Number 1 . March 1987, pp. 42-52 . Kampala, Uganda .

Mwamwenda T. S. and Mwamwenda B. B. (1987) "School Facilities and Pupils' Academic Achievement". Comparative Education Vol. 23, No. 2, 1987. pp 225-235. Carfax Publishing Ltd., Abingdon, U.K.

Mwesigwa-Bwengye (1983) "Problems of Working Mothers in Kabale Town" . Research Paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Administration, Makerere University, Kampala.

Nakiranda-Kawoya, J. (1989). "Some Factors Affecting Girls' Academic Performance in Economics in Some Girls' Secondary Schools in Central and Eastern Uganda". M.Ed. Thesis, Makerere University, Uganda.

Nalwanga-Sebina, A. J. and Natukunda, E.R. Uganda Women's Needs Assessment Survey 1988. Research Report Sponsored by UNICEF (Uganda).

Namuddu, K (1991), "Educational Research Priorities in Sub-Saharan Africa". In Strengthening Educational Research in Developing Countries. Seminar organised by International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP) and Institute of International Education, stockholm University (IIE).

Namuddu, K. (1992) "Gender Perspectives in African Higher Education" Paper written for Presentation at the Senior Policy Seminar on African Higher Education. The University of Zimbabwe, March 23 to 27 1992.

Nanyonga, J. (1989) "Resistance Councils and Committees, Their Functions and Role in the Ugandan Society, With Special References to Women's Motivation". A paper presented at a Legal Education Workshop in Tororo, organised by Action for Development (ACFODE). Uganda.

Narman, A. (1984) "Regional Distribution of Educational Facilities in Kenya with Special Reference to Secondary School Teachers". Research Report. Department of Human and Economic Geography, University of Gothenberg.

National Commission for UNESCO (1978/80) The Development of Education in Uganda (1978/80) Ministry of Education, Uganda.

National Commission for UNESCO, Uganda (1990) The Development of Education in Uganda 1988-1990. A Report to the 42nd Session of the International Conference on Education, Geneva, 3rd - 8th September 1990, Kampala.

National Council of Women (Uganda) (1988). Memorandum to the Education Policy Review Commission, Kampala.

National Resistance Movement (1988) The Ten Point Programme. National Resistance Movement Development Strategy. An ARM Publication, Kampala.

Ndidde, A. (1992) "Marriage Patterns in Uganda", unpublished research paper, Centre for Continuing Education, Makerere University, Kampala .

Ndinawe Byekwaso, (1991). "Participation of Rural Women in Resistance Councils (Local Political System) in Comparison with Men: A Case of Kabale and Luwero Districts in Uganda". A research project Sponsored by (IDRC) (International Development Research Centre). Nairobi, Kenya.

Nelson N. (1981) African Women in the Development Process. Frank Cass and Company Ltd., London.

New Vision, The - Most widely circulated daily newspaper, which is also state owned.Often publishes important official statements, researched feature articles, individual opinions, from which this study has drawn some evidence. Several cited below:

Wansuzi, J. - July 27th 1989 - "Mushega Stresses Role of Data" - reporting complaint by Minister of Education about lack of accurate educational data.

Kalinaki, A.H. June 29th, 1989 - "School PTAs and Boards for Efficiency" - historical analysis of shifting power between the two bodies, with PTA increasingly becoming more influential.

Tibenderana, P.K. - 18th June 1990 - "Primary School Syllabus Irrelevant". An attempt to show that one national examination is unfair since educational resources and support services are not evenly distributed.

Kanyike, L. 15th August, 1990 "Education: An Elite Creation", a continuation of Tibenderana's debate, emphasising the effect of place of residence for pupils.

Basalirwa, R. 28th August 1990 "PS Education Bans Part-Time Teachers" - reporting official circular stopping teachers from taking up full-time duties in more than one school.

Asedri, V. 31st August, 1990 "Boarding Schools to Go - Mushega". reporting a Ministerial statement on decision to shift funding in favour of day-schools - NRC proceedings.

Oduman, O.A. - 3rd October 1990 - "Sectarianism Invades Education" - complaint that the 1.5 points scheme will not rectify regional imbalances in education.

Mugyenyi, D.R. 18th October 1990 "Equality Front is Elsewhere", urging for byelaws to ensure compulsory schooling for girls at primary level, instead of applying positive discrimination at higher education level.

Kajubi, W.S. - 7th November 1990 "How Makerere Builds for The Future" - a chronicle of Makerere's varied constraints.

Unnamed Man - 1st November 1990 "He's Ruining Marriage" — lamentation about threats from father-in-law in relation to failure to pay balance of bridewealth.

Museveni, Y.K. - 26th June 1991, Presidential Address given on International AIDS Day (16/6/1991 - illustrating problems of the Ugandan health sector.

Kawule, G. - 21st February 1991 "O-Level Results Out" - summary of results, listing best performing schools.

Nyonyintono, D. 12th April, 1991 - "PLE Aggregate 6-12 Unrealistic"-showing competitiveness at Secondary School entry.

Twine, R. 3rd May 1991 - "Government raises grant for schools" - reporting government circular , but also showing how the increase will make little difference.

Kawamara, S. - 18th September 1992 - "Delegates Rap Women Groups" reactions of seminar participants - too many groups, urban-based, etc.

Perlez, J. 4th June, 1991 "Uganda's Rural Women Endure Drudgery".

Tamale, S. and Okumu Wengi, J. 21st August 1992 - "Legal Status of Women in Uganda". - feature, extensively highlighting women's problems.

FIDA (Uganda Women Lawyers' Association) 17th December 1991 "Report on Legal Aid Activities". - indicating widespread violation of inheritance rights.

Owalinga, L.A. - 5th June 1991 "Karamoja Schools Are Unused". illustrating lack of interest in schooling by this community.

Othin, D. 11th May, 1991 "Prof. Kiapi Pleads for Women" - reviewing a seminar paper on women's legal status.

Amanya Mushega, Minister of Education - 5th July 1991, detailed interview by Editor, on many aspects of the education policy.

Lamwaka, C. - 16th July 1991 "Ugandan Women Submit Memo" summary of official WID Ministry Memorandum to the Constitutional Commission, covering general areas where women are disadvantaged.

Salasatta, D - l9th August 1991 - "Earlier Marriage Preferred". Summary report of a Seminar of community leaders in Jinja recommending age 15 as ideal minimum for marriage.

Nsiimwe, P - 23rd October 1991 - "Scrap 1.5 Points Varsity Entry" - opposing the positive discrimination scheme.

Amanya Mushega, Minister of Education - 28th August 1991, policy statement for financial year 1991/92, where he is recorded to have expressed concern about high rates of repetition of A-Level examinations (reported by Obbo,S.)

Tumwine, H. - 2nd September 1991 - "Women want 90 Days' Leave" report on a Seminar by Women Trade Unionists, where, among other resolutions, was the demand to increase maternity leave period.

Sentongo, M. - 17th December 1991 "Women's Property Rights Violated" - feature article assessing inheritance and succession laws as they affect Ugandan women.

Wasswa, J.B. and Muhangi, J. - 20th December 1991 "Teachers Hold Demo" - reporting a demonstration by secondary school teachers about prolonged delays in payment of their salaries.

Amanya Mushega, Minister of Education - 19-5-92 where is reported to have pledged, inter alia, Government's preferential material support to day schools.

Onyango Kakoba - 8th June 1992 "Marriage, Sex Related Laws Discussed" - long report on Seminar organised by WID Ministry.

Kiggundu, P. - 5th August, 1992 "Women: Resting on NRM Platter?" - listing shortcomings of the women's movement in Uganda.

Wanyama, D. - 8th June, 1992 "Defiler Fined Hen" - reporting light punishment given to sex offenders.

Niblett W. R. (1969) Higher Education: Demand and Response. Tavistock Publications, London.

Njoku J. E. E. (1980) The World of the African Woman. Methuchen, N. J. and The Scarecrow Press, INC. London.

Njoroge, R. J. and Bennaars, G. A. (1986) Philosophy and Education in Africa. (An Introduction Text for Students of Education), TransAfrica Press, Nairobi, Kenya.

Nkinyangi, J. A. (1982) "Access to Primary Education in Kenya; The Contradictions of Public Policy" in Comparative Education Review. Vol. 26 pp 199-217. The Comparative and International Education Society, University of Chicago.

Ntozi, J.P.M. and Kabera, J.B. (1989) "Women's Status and High Fertility Culture in Uganda. A Case in South-West Uganda. In UNDP (1992 a) Women, Population and Development. UNDP, New York.

Ntozi, J.P.M., Kabera, J.B., Mukiza-Gapere, J., Ssekamaate-Sebuliba, J. and Kamateeka J. (1990) Some Aspects of Determinants of Fertility in Ankole, Uganda: Findings of Elders' Survey. Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, Makerere University, Kampala Uganda.

Ntozi, J.P.M., Kabera, J.B., Mukiza-Gapere, J., Kamateeka J. and Mbamanya J. (1991). Some Determinants of Fertility among Banyankole: Findings of the Ankole Fertility Survey. Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, Makerere University, Kampala, Uganda.

Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office (1953) African Education: a Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Nyakojo, E. (1991) "Grassroots Women, Political Participation and Gender Interests: The State and Women's NGOs in Uganda". A paper submitted in partial fulfilment of the M.A. requirement at the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University, U . K .

Nzingurehi Karuhanga, R . P . (1985) "Problerns Associated with Polygny in Ankole: An Exploratory Study of Kagango Sub-county, Bushenyi District". A Research Paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Adrninistration, Makerere University, Karnpala.

O'Connor, A. (1988) "Uganda: The Spatial Dimension" in Hansen, H.B. and Twaddle, M. (eds) Uganda Now: Between Decay and Development, James Currey, London.

Oakley, A. (1981) Subject Women. Fontana Press Martin Robertson & Co. Ltd., U.K.

Oaxaca, R.L. (1987) "Sex Earings Differentials" In Psacharopoulos, G.(ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies,Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Obbo, C (1980) African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence Zed Press, London.

Obbo, C. (1986). "Stratification and the Lives of Women in Uganda". in Women and Class in Africa, Robertson C and Berger I. (eds). African Publishing House. London.

Obbo, C. (1988). "Women's Autonomy, Children and Kinship: A case Study of Uganda." Dalhousie Review. No. 1/2, v. 68, Spring/Summer 1988, pp 70-86

Obbo, C. (1991) "Women, Children and a 'Living Wage' " In Hansen, H.B. and Twaddle, M.(eds) Changing Uganda, James Currey, London.

Ochieng, E.O. (1990) "The Political Economy of Stabilisation and Adjustment Programmes in Uganda", Department of Economics, Makerere University, Kampala, Manuscript.

Ochieng, E.O. (1991) "Economic Adjustment Programmes in Uganda, 1985-1988" in Hansen, H.B. and Twaddle, M. (eds) (1991) Changing Uganda, James Currey, London.

Odaet, S.F. (1990). Implementing Educational Policies in Uganda. World Bank Discussion Papers, Africa Technical Department Series. The World Bank, Washington D.C.

Odama, S. (1987). "The Pattern of Educational Opportunity Provided in Madi-Okollo County in Arua District in Uganda". M.Ed. Thesis, Makerere University, Uganda.

Odonga-Mwaka, B . (1989) "Legal and Social Strategies for Improving the Role of Women in Development" . Conference Paper published in UNDP (1992 a)

OECD (1983) Policies for Higher Education in the 1980's Inter Governmental Conference OECD 12/14 October 1981 OECD.

Okot p'Bitek (1966), Song of Lawino, Heinemann Educational Boleswa, Gaborone, Botswana.

Okumu Wengi, J. (1992) The Legal Status of Women in Uganda, (A Comprehensive Overview) prepared for the Ministry of Wornen, Youth and Culture, Kampala, Uganda.

Omara, C.B. (1987) "The Effect of Mathematics on the Performance in Advanced Level Chemistry in Selected Schools in Uganda". M.Ed. thesis, Makerere University, Kampala.

Onweng Angura, T. (1983) "The Attitude of the Langi Towards the Equality of the Sexes". A Research Paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Administration, Makerere University, Kampala.

Onyango, B. (1985) "The Historical Development of Higher Education in Uganda". in Tembo, L.P. Pitso, Khalifa, P.L., Makhurane, M.D. and Dilgassa, M. (eds) The Development of Higher Education in Eastern and Southern Africa. Hedaya Educational Books Ltd. Nairobi.

Onyango, B. (1990). "Comments on the Senate Policy to Increase Points for all Qualified Female Applicants by 1.5 points for Purposes of Admission into Makerere University. The New Vision. September 17th 1990.

Onyango, B (1991). "The 1.5 Controversy: Makerere's Contribution to Women in Development" in Arise - A Women's Develpomental Magazine -published by ACFODE (Action for Development No. 2. April-June 1991.

Organisation of African Unity (OAU) (1985) Lagos Plan of Action for the Development of Africa 1980 - 2000. OAU. Addis Ababa.

Owor, M.F. (1987). "Low Participation of Girls in Science, Technology and Mathematics (STM), Uganda's Experience". A paper presented at the Commonwealth African Regional Workshop on Gender Stereotyping in Science, Technology and Mathematics Education - Accra, Ghana. 12-16 January, 1987.

Oxenham, J. (ed) (1984) Education Versus Qualifications? George Allen & Unwin, London.

OXFAM (Uganda) (1992) "Income Generating Activities". Workshop Report, June 1992.

Oyanga, N.M. (1984) "The Potential Causes of Marital Conflicts Between Graduate Couples". A Research paper for the B.A. Degree in Social Work and Social Administration, Makerere University, Karnpala.

Parnes, H. S. (1964) The Mediterranean Regional Project. Forecasting Educational Needs for Economic and Social Development. OECD.

Passi, F.O. (1989) "Legislation and Education in Uganda". School of Education, Makerere University, Kampala, Manuscript.

Peil, M. (1977) Consensus and Conflict in African Societies: An Introduction to Sociology. Longman. England.

Peil, M. with Mitchell, P. K. and Rimmer, D. (1982) Social Science Research Methods: an African Handbook. Hodder and Stoughton, London.

Phelps-Stokes Report (1922) in Scanlon, D.G. (ed) (1964) Traditions of African Education, Bureau of Publications, Teachers ' College, Columbia University, New York.

Piper D. W. (1981) Is Higher Education Fair? Society for Research into Higher Education, Surrey, U. K.

Piper, D. W. (1984 "The Question of Fairness" In Is Higher Education Fair to Women? (Acker, S. and Piper D. W. (eds)) SHRE & HFER-NELSON. Surrey, U. K.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of First Five-Year Development Plan 1960/61 - 1965/66, Government Printer. Entebbe Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1969). Second Five-Year Plan 1966/67 - 1970/71 Supplement of Projects. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1971). Uganda's Third Five-Year Development Plan. 1971/72 and 1975/6. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1977). The Action Programme: A Three-Year Economic Rehabilitation Plan 1977/78 - 1979/80. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1982). Report on the 1980 Population Census. Vol. I, The Provisional Results by Administrative Areas, Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1984). Background to the Budget 1984-1985 Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1987) Background to the Budget 1987-1988 Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1987). Background to the Budget 1987-1988. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1987). Rehabilitation and Development Plan 1987/88 - 1990/91 Vol. 1. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1988). Census of Civil Servants: National Manpower Survey, Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1989). Manpower and Employment in Uganda. Report of the National Manpower Survey. 1989. (MES). Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1989). Statistical Bulletin No. IP/2 Index of Industrial Production May 1989, Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1990) Report on the Uganda National Household Budget Survey (1989-90). Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1990). Background to the Budget 1990-1991 Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1990). Key Economic Indicators (3rd Issue: October 1990) Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1991) Provisional Results of the 1991 Population and Housing Census. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1991). Key Economic Indicators (6th Issue: July 1991. Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1991). Rehabilitation and Development Plan 1990/91 - 1993/94 Vol. II Project Profiles Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Planning and Economic Development, Ministry of (1991)/ Key Economic Indicators (6th Issue: July 1991). Government Printer, Entebbe, Uganda.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1973) Returns to Education: An International Comparison, Elsevier and Jossey-Bass. Amsterdam and New York.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1985) "Returns to Education: A Further International Update and Implications". Journal of Human Resources, Vol.20. No.4 pp.583 - 604.

Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987). Economics of Education Research and Studies. Pergamon Books Ltd. Oxford.

Psacharopoulos, G. (1990) Why Educational Policies Can Fail. (An Overview of Selected African Experiences) (82 World Bank Discussion Papers Africa Technical Department Series) The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Psacharopoulos, G. and Loxley W. (1985). Diversified Secondary Education and Development. (Evidence from Colombia and Tanzania) A World Bank Publication, Washington D.C.

Psacharopoulos, G. and Woodhall, M. (1985) Education For Development: An Analysis of Investment Choices. A World Bank Publication. Washington D.C.

Rendel, M (1973) "Measures to Combat Discrimination Against Women in Higher Education" in Women in Higher Education. Papers from a conference held in London on 29 June 1973. Staff Development in Universities Program: Institute of Education, London.

Rich, A. (1976) Of Woman Born, W.W. Norton, New York.

Ritche, J. (1982) "Child-rearing Practices and Attitudes of Working and Full-time Mothers". Women's Studies International Forum Vol.5 No.5 p. 419-425

Robbins, Lord (1963) (Chairman) Higher Education: Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, London.

Roberts, H. (1984) "A Feminist Perspective on Affirmative Action" in Is Higher Education Fair to Women? SRHE 7 NFER-NELSON. Surrey, U.K.

Robertson, A.B. (1935) "Report on the Education of Women and Girls, 1935". Appendix XI of the Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year ended 31st December 1935. Uganda Protectorate Government Printer, Entebbe.

Robertson, A.B. (1939) "Girls' Education in Uganda: Encouraging". in Uganda Teachers' Journal. Vol.I.No.I 1939, Karnpala.

Rogers B. (1980). The Domestication of Women: Discrimination in Developing Societies. Tavistock Publications, London.

Rostow, W. (1960) The Stages of Economic Growth. Cambridqe University

Rotary Club of Kampala West, Uganda (1991). Careers Guidance: Requirements for Entering Makerere University Kampala West Rotary Club.

Rupesinghe, K. (ed) (1989). Conflict Resolution in Uganda. International Peace Research Institute, Oslo in association with James Currey Ltd., London.

Rwabamanzi, J. E. (1990). "Women in Higher Education". A research paper presented to the Faculty of Education of the Institute of Teacher Education, Kyambogo in partial fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Bachelor of Education. Kampala Uganda.

Sadker, M.P. and Sadker,D.M. (1982) Sex Equity Handbook for Schools. Longman, New York and London.

Safilios-Rothschild, C. (1985) The Status of Women and Fertility in the Third World in the 1970-1980 Decade. Working Paper No.118. Population Council, Centre for Policy. New York.

Saito, K. A. and Weidemann, C. J. (1990). Agricultural Extension for Women Farmers in Africa. WPS 398, The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Sanyal B. C. (1988). Women, Higher Education and Employment in the Developing Countries. IIEP Occasional Paper No. 77. UNESCO: International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris.

Sanyal B. C., Prakash B and Verghese N. V. (1987). Intensive Training Course on Education, Employment and Work. New Delhi India 1-17 Sept 1987. UNESCO; International Institute for Educational Planning. Paris.

Sara-Lafosse V. (1992) "Coeducational Settings and Educational and Social Outcomes in Peru" in Stromquist, N.P. (ed) (1992) Women and Education in Latin America: Knowledge, Power, and Change. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. London.

Sayers, J. (1984) "Psychology and Gender Divison". In World Year Book of Education 1984: Women and Education. pp.40-51. Kogan Page, London.

Sayers, J. (1987) "Psychology and Gender Divison". In Weiner, G. and Arnot, M. (eds) (1987) Gender Under Scrutiny: New Inquiries in Education, The Open University, Hutchinson, London.

Scanlon D G. (1964). Traditions of African Education. New York. Bureau of Publications.

Schultz T. P. (1989 a) Women and Development: Objectives, Frameworks, and Policy Interventions. World Bank Working Paper No. WPS 200. The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Schultz, T. P. (1989 b). Women's Changing Participation in the Labour Force: A World Perspective. WPS 272. The World Bank, Washington D. C.

Schultz, T. P. (1991) "Returns to Women's Education", in King, E.M., and Hill, M.A. (eds) Women's Education in Developing Countries: Barriers, Benefits and Policy. PHREE Background Paper Series, Document No. PHREE/91/40. The World Bank, Washington, D.C.

Schultz, T. W. (1960,1961) "Investment in Human Capital". In American Economic Review. March 1961, pp.1-17.

Schultz, T.W. (1971) Investment in Human Capital. The Free Press. New York.

Sen G. and Grown C. (1988). Development, Crises and Alternative Vision: Third World Women's Perspectives. Eastern Publications Ltd., London.

Shields, N.G. (1987) "Female Labor and Education" in Psacharopoulos, G. (ed), (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Sifuna, D N (1990), Development of Education in Africa: The Kenyan Experience, Initiatives Publishers, Nairobi.

Silliman, J M (1987). Basic Education for Women: The Promise Fulfilled? A Comparative Analysis of Five Countries. UMI Dissertation Information Service (Masters Thesis). Columbia University Teachers College.

Simeone, A. (1987). Academic Women: Working Towards Equality. Bergin and Garvey Publishers Inc. Massachusetts.

Sivard, R. L. (1985). Women... A World Survey. World Priorities, Washington D. C.

Smith, A. (1776) The Wealth of Nations. (See Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. 1952).

Smith, E.W. (1929) Aggrey of Africa: A Study in Black and White, Student Christian Movement, London.

Smith, M.M. (1946) "Notes on visits paid to centres of women's and girls' education in Sudan, Uganda, and Kenya during the period 6th October to 23 November 1945", Typescript.

Smock, A. C. (1981). Women's Education in Developing Countries (Opportunities and Outcomes). Praeger Publishers Division. Connecticut.

Solmon L. C. and Taubaman P. J. (1973). Does College Matter? (Some Evidence on the impacts of Higher Education) Academic Press, INC (London) Ltd.

Solomon, B.M. (1987) In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America, Asian Books, New Delhi.

Solomon, L.C. (1987) "The Range of Educational Benefits", In Psacharopoulos,G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Southall, R.(1974) Federalism and Higher Education in East Africa. East African Publishing House, Nairobi.

Spencer A. Finlayson, N and Crabb S. Women in Further and Higher Education Management. The Further Education Staff College, Bristol, London.

Spender, D. (1981). "Sex Bias" In Is Higher Education Fair, D. W. Piper (ed) Society for Research into Higher Education, Surrey U.K.

Spender, D. (1989). Invisible Women: The Schooling Scandal. The Women's Press. London.

Ssekamwa, J.C. and Lugumba, S.M.E. (1973) Educational Development and Administration in Uganda 1900-1970. Longman Uganda Ltd. Kampala.

Stanton, H . (1969) "Attitudes Towards Women and Their Formal Education". Unpublished Manuscript.

Stanworth, M. (1987) "Girls on the Margins: A Study of Gender Divisions in the Classroom", In Weiner , G. and Arnot, M. (eds) (1987) Gender Under Scrutiny: New Inquiries in Education. Hutchinson, in association with The Open University, London.

Stiver Lie, S and O'leary, V.E (eds) (1990), Storming the Tower: Women in the Academic World, Kogan Page, London.

Stocks, M. (1944). Women's Education. British Broadcasting Corporation, Ministry of Information, (on behalf of the Colonial Office). London.

Stoddard, G.D. (Chairman) (1969) The Report of The Working Party on Higher Education in East Africa. January 31, East African Community.

Stromquist, N. P . (1987) "The State and the Education of Women: Toward a Theoretical Understanding". Paper presented to the CIES annual meeting, Washington, D . C . (cited by Fagerlind, I and Saha L . J . (1989) Education and National Development. Pergamon Press, Oxford .

Stromquist, N. P. (1990). "Women and Illiteracy: the Interplay of Gender Subordination and Poverty" in Comparative Education Review, Vol. 34, No. 1 pp 95-111 Comparative and International Education Society, University of Chicago.

Stromquist, N.P. (ed) (1992) Women and Education in Latin America: Knowledge, Power, and Change. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. London.

Stuart, M. (undated) "Land of Promise". Mimeo.

Sunday Nation, The (1992) A Kenyan weekly newspaper, reporting court proceedings against former schoolboys of St. Kizito Secondary School, on 17th May 1992, charged with murder of school girls at the same school. The matter was widely reported by the mass media throughout East Africa.

Sutherland, M.B, (1981), Sex Bias In Education. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Sutherland, M. (1985a). "Sex Bias in Education, at Home and Abroad" in Key Issues in Education: Comparative Perspective. Watson, K(ed), Croom Helm, London.

Sutherland M. (1985b). Women Who Teach in Universities. Trentham Books, England.

Sutherland, M.B. (1987) "Sex Differences in Education: An Overview" In Comparative Education Vol.23 No.I p.5-9 (1987), Comparative and International Education Society.

Swantz M - L. (1985). Women in Development: A Creative Role Denied? A case study of Tanzania. C. Hurst and Company (Publishers) Ltd., London.

Szafran, R. F. (1984). Universities and Women Faculty: (Why some Organizations Discriminate More than Others). Praeger Publishers. New York.

Tadria, H.K.K. (1987). "Changes and Continuities in the Position of Women in Uganda". in Weibe P.D. and Page, C.B. (eds). Beyond Crisis Development Issues in Uganda. Makerere Institute of Social Research, Kampala, Uganda.

Tadria, H.M.K. (1985) "Changing Economic and Gender Patterns Among the Peasants of Ndejje and Sseguku in Uganda". A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degreee of Doctor of Philosophy/Education .

Tadria, H.M.K.(1989) "Research Priorities on Women and Development in Uganda" in El-Bakri, Z. and Besha, R.M. (1989) Women and Development in Eastern Africa: An Agenda for Research. Organisation for Social Science Research in Eastern Africa, p.68-72. Addis Ababa.

Tamale, N. N. (1978). "Sex-Role Identification, Intelligence and the Academic Attainment of Secondary School Girls in Uganda". A dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Education - Makerere University, Uganda.

Taplin, R.(1989), Economic Development and the Role of Women (An Interdisciplinary Approach), Avebury, Aldershot, United Kingdom.

Tembo, L.P. (ed) (1984) The African University: Issues and Perspectives Speeches by L.H.K. Goma. The Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia, Lusaka.

Theodore, A. (1986) The Campus Troublemakers: Academic Women on Protest. Cap and Gown Press, Inc. Texas.

Thomas, K. (1990) Gender and Subject in Higher Education. The Society for Research into Higher Education and Open University, Buckingham, United Kingdom.

Thompson, A. R. (1981). Education and Development in Africa. The MacMillan Press Ltd., Hong Kong.

Tibanyendera, P. (Rev. Fr.) "On Cost-Sharing in Higher Education Institutions in Uganda" An address to Student Leaders. The New Vision 11th September 1990, Kampala Uganda.

Tibarimbasa, A.K.M. (1989) "The Financing of Higher Education in Uganda: A Case Study of Makerere University, Kampala. M.Ed. thesis, University of Manchester.

Tiberondwa A.K. (1978). Missionary Teachers as Agents of Colonialism. National Educational Company of Zambia Ltd. Lusaka.

Todaro, M.P. (1977, 1989) Economic Development in the Third World. Longman Group U.K. Limited, England.

Tolley, G. (1975) Meaning and Purpose in Higher Education (Essays based upon a use of ideas of John Henry Newman). Sheffield Polytechnic, U.K.

Tong, R (1992) Feminist Thought: A Comprehensive Introduction. Routledge London .

Trow, M. (1969). "Elite and Popular Functions in American Higher Education" in Niblett, W. R. Higher Education: Demand and Response. The Quail Roost Seminar of December 1968, Tavistock Publications. London.

Trow, M.A. (1974) "Problems in the Transitition from Elite to Mass Higher Education". In Policies for Higher Education: General Report 1974. pp.51-101. OECD. Paris.

Trow, M.A. (1981) "Comparative Perspectives on Access" in 0. Fulton, (1981) Access to Higher Education. Society for Research into Higher Education (SRHE), Guildford, U.K.

Trow, M.A. (l984) "The Analysis of Status". In Clark, B.R. (1984) Perspectives on Higher Education. University of California Press. Berkeley.

Trow, M. (1987). "Academic Standards and Mass Higher Education" in Higher Education Quarterly. Vol. 41, No. 3, Summer 1987 268-292. Basil Blackwell. Oxford.

Trow, M. (1989). "The Robbins Trap: British Attitudes and the Limits of Expansion" in Higher Education Quarterly. Vol. 43 No. 1, Winter 1989. p 55-75. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Truscott, N. (1944). Aims of Higher Education. London. British Broadcasting Corporation, Ministry of Information on behalf of the Colonial Office 1944 p 7-10 Heseltine (ed) 1987. The Swedish National Board of Universities and Colleges, Stockholm, Sweden.

Tucto A.B. L. (1988) "The Crucial Role of Women's Education in Child and Maternal Survival: A Critical Review" University of London, M. Sc. Dissertation, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

Twine, P,(1987) "The Poor Performance of Girls in Ugandan Schools". In The Uganda Association of University Women Bulletin, No.I March 1987, pp. 38-41 . Kampala, Uganda .

Uganda Association of University Women (UAWW) (1991) "Report of a Seminar on Career and Counselling for Girls" held 30th October 1st

Uganda Government Archives, Entebbe:

Education Circular No. 19 of 1957, Secretariat File No. W/4 on Education, Women and Girls.

"Limitations of Bride Price" - Report by H.E. Lambert, 4.8.1948 Chief Secretary's Office, Secretariate File No. 6611.

Education Policy on Secondary Education in Uganda. Secretariat Minute Paper NO. S.17.Vol.III - Secondary Education for Girls. (Records of Meetings during 1938).

Report of a Sub-Committee on the Education and Welfare of Women and Girls in Africa, Colonial Office, February 1943. No.1169 in Secretariat File No. S.8/2.

Development of African Teacher Training, Secondary Schools and the Education of Girls. Uganda Protectorate (1954) Government Printer, Entebbe.

Report of the African Education Committee (1940) Published by Authority Government Printer, Entebbe.

Secretariat Minute File No. S.5.(66) (27.7.1935 (policy regarding women seeking to study abroad).

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1925. Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for 1926, Uganda Protectorate Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1927. Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1928. Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December, 1929. Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1930. Uganda Protectorate,Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1931. Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1932, Uganda Protectorate,Government Printer,Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1933,Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe.
Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1934. Uganda Protectorate.Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1935.Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1936. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1937. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1938. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1939. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1947. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1948. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1949. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer,Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1950. Uganda Protectorate. Government Printer,Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1951. Uganda Protectorate.Government Printer,Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1952. Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer,Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December 1954. Uganda Protectorate,Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Report of the Education Department for the Year Ended 31st December, 1955. Uganda Protectorate, Government Printer, Entebbe.

Annual Education Report, 1964. Secretariat File No. G E A U. E32(058)1

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) First Annual Report July 1980 - June 1981, UNEB, Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Second Annual Report July 1981- June 1982 UNEB, Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Third Annual Report July 1982 - June 1983, UNEB, Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Fourth Annual Report 1983-1984, (UNEB), Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Fifth Annual Report July 1984 - June 1985, UNEB, Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Sixth Annual Report July 1985- June 1986 (UNEB), Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Seventh Annual Report July 1986- 1987, (UNEB), Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Eight Annual Report, July 1987 - June 1988, (UNEB), Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Uganda Advanced Certificate of Education (UACE) Regulations and Syllabuses. March 1984 - March 1985, (UNEB), Kampala.

Uganda National Examination Board (UNEB) Uganda Certificate of Education (UCE) Regulations and Syllabuses 1986-1990, (UNEB), Kampala.

Uganda Women's Finance and Credit Trust (UWFCT) (1989) Status Report 1988/89 Kampala, Uganda .

UNESCO (1962) The Development of Higher Education in Africa (Report of the Conference on the Development of Higher Education in Africa, Tananarive, 3-12 september 1962. Unesco Paris.

UNESCO (1981a). Women and Development: Indicators of their Changing Role. (Article by Mere Kisekka, "The Role of Women in Socio Economic Development: Indicators as Instruments of Social Analysis. The case of Nigeria and Uganda") Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1981b). Study on Portrayal of Men and Women in Chinese School Textbooks and Children's Literature. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1983a). A study of the Portrayal of Women and Men in School Textbooks and Children's Literature in France. Carried out by the French Member Organization of the World Federation of Teachers Union. ED-83/LWS/118. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO 1983b). A Study on Portrayal of Men and Women in Textbooks and Children's Literature in Norway. ED- 83/WS/45, Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1983c). Equality of Educational Opportunity for Girls and Women ED-83/WS/55. Unesco, Paris

UNESCO (1983d). Equality of Opportunity for Girls and Women in Scientific, Technical and Vocational Education. ED-87/WS/42 Unesco Paris.

UNESCO (1983e). Uganda: Education: Recovery and Construction. UNESCO, Paris.

UNESCO (1985a). Identification and Elimination of Sex Stereotypes in and from Education Programs and School Textbook: Some Suggestions for Action in Asia and the Pacific edited by Sarojin Basaria. ED. 85/WS/58. Paris.

UNESCO (1985b). The Place of Women in Higher Education. Report on an International Seminar held in Uppsala, Sweden, 16-18 September 1985. (In association with the European Centre for Higher Education (CEPES)).

UNESCO (1985c). Equality of Educational Opportunity for Girls and Women Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1985d). Study on Portrayal of Men and Women in Chinese School Textbooks and Children's Literature. (Undertaken under the joint auspices of the Ministry of Culture of the People's Republic of China and Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1986a). (ed) Raphael Begarra. Promotion of Girls and Women's Access to Technical and Vocational Education: Examples of Action. AED-86/WS/103. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1986b). (produced by Andree Michel). Down with Stereotypes! Eliminating Sexism from Children's literature and School Text Book. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1987a). Report on "International Meeting of Experts on Factors Influencing Women's Access to Decision-making, Roles in Political, Economic and Scientific Life and measures that may be taken to Increase their Responsibilities". Yogoslavia, Dubrovnik, 10-14 Dec. 1984. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1987b). Special Programme for the Improvement of Higher Education in Africa. (Summary of the Conference of Ministers of Education and those Responsible for Economic Planning in Africa Meso States (MINDAT) (Harare - Zimbabwe in 1982). Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1987c). Survey on the Representation of Women in Higher Education, Research, Educational Planning, Administration and Management. (Carried out with the assistance of the International Federation of University Women). Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1987d). (produced by Purgand W, with the Co-operation of B. Gericke & G. Pogoddy). Measures to promote the Equality of Opportunity for Girls and Women in Vocational Education in the German Democratic Republic. ED-87/WS/38. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1987e). Measures to Provide the Access of Girls and Women to Secondary Technical and Vocational Education in New Zealand. A report on Policies and selected Activities - completed in October 1985). ED-87/WS/40. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1987f) A Long Way.... A Study of Some Activities Implemented in the Netherlands to Promote Equality of Opportunity for Girls and Women in Scientific, Technical and Vocational Education, ED-87/WS/42. Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO (1987g), Improvement and Renovation of Higher Education in Africa (Acts of the Regional Symposium, Dakar, 4-8 May 1987), Regional Office for Education in Africa (BREDA).

UNESCO (1991) World Education Report 1991, Unesco, Paris.

UNESCO/UNICEF (1990) Towards Education For All In Africa: Starting Point. Special Breda Unesco Regional Office, Dakar, Senegal.

United Nations (1976) World Plan of Action: A Summarised Version. United Nations Decade for Women 1976 - 1985. United Nations, New York.

United Nations (1984). Compiling Social Indicators on the Situation of Women (Studies in Methods Series F. No. 32. United Nations Publications. New York.

United Nations (1985) Nairobi Forward-Looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women. (FLS) World Conference to Review and Appraise the Achievements of the Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace - Nairobi, Kenya. United Nations, New York.

United Nations (1986a). Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. United Nations, New York.

United Nations (1986b) World Survey on the Role of Women in Development. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs. U.N. New York.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1989a) Women, Population and Development, (Proceedings of the Workshop held in Mbarara, Uganda 11-14 October 1989 by the Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics of Makerere University, Kampala, in collaboration with the Ministry of Planning and Economic Development and the Ministry of Women in Development. TCD/SEM -92/2 UGA -88-PO2/1 UN Department of Technical Co-operation for Development, New York.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1991). Human Development Report. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) (1986) Trends and Issues in Africa Education: Guidance and Counselling Programs and Occupation/Psychological Testing. ECA, Addis ababa.

United Nations, (1980) Decade for Women Conference, Copenhagen, 14-30 July 1980. UN. New York.

United Nations (1988) Human Rights: A Compilation of International Instruments. United Nations Publication , New York.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (1989) Children and Women in Uganda: A Situation Analysis. UNICEF, Kampala, Uganda.

United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (1992) Human Development Report 1992, Oxford University Press, Oxford.

United States Education Department (1980). Design for Equity: Women and Leadership in Higher Education. (Prepared by C. W. Konek; S. L. Kitch and G. E. Hammand), Education Department Centre, Massachusetts.

University of London and International Extension College (1991) Education for Development, External Diploma in Distance Education, Course I. Department of International and Comparative Education, University of London Institute of Education and International Extension College.

Urch, G.E.F. (1992) Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Source Book. Garland Publishing, Inc. New York and London.

USAID (1991) "Girls' Persistence and Teacher Incentives in Primary Education In Uganda". Pilot Research Project by Consultant Fleuret, A. USAID/Uganda.

Vallance, E. (1983) "Hiding the Hidden Curruculum: An Interpretation of the Language of Justification in Nineteenth-Century Educational Reform" in Giroux, H. and Purpel (1983) The Hidden Curriculum and Moral Education: Deception or Discovery?, McCutchan Publishing Corporation U. S . A.

Vogel, L (1983). Marxism and the Oppression of Women: Toward a Unitary Theory. Ploto Press Limited, London.

Vulliamy, G. Lewin, K. and Stephens, D. (1990). Doing Educational Research in Developing Countries: Qualitative Strategies. The Falmer Press. London.

Wagner, L. (1982). Agenda for Institutional Change in Higher Education. Society for Research into Higher Education.· Surrey, U. K.

Waithaka, J and Kwesiga J.B. (1991) Review of DENIVA .(An Evaluation Report Submitted to DENIVA (Network of Indigenous Development Associations), April 1991 Kampala .

Wakjira, T. G. (1983). "The Inequality of Educational Opportunity in Uganda with Special Reference to the Education of Girls". M.Ed. Thesis, Makerere University, Kampala.

Walker, S. and Barton, L. (eds) (1983). Gender, Class and Education. The Falmer Press. Surrey, U. K.

Walkerdine, V. (1989). Counting Girls Out. Virago Press Ltd. London.

Wallace, T. and March, C. (eds) (1991). Changing Perceptions: Writings on Gender and Development. Oxfam, Oxford, U.K.

Wandira A. (1972) Early Missionary Education in Uganda. (A Study of Purpose in Missionary Education), Makerere University, Kampala.

Wandira, A. (1977). The African University in Development . Ravan Press, Johannesburg, S. Africa.

Warwickshire County Council (1988). Women Secondary School Teachers in Warwickshire: A Wasted Resource? Warwickshire County Council. U. K.

Wasserman, E., Lewin A. Y. and Bleiweis, L. H. (1977). Women in Academia: Evolving Policies Toward Equal Opportunities. Praeger Publishers.

Watson, K. (1982). Education in the Third World. Croom Helm Ltd. Kent, U.K.

Weekly Topic ,(One of the more-widely circulated newspapers in Uganda and to which frequent reference is made in this study. Those cited are:

Anonymous Correspondent - 7th June 1989 - "Schools and Double Deckers" (complaining about secondary school requirements).

- Mugizi, P. - 23rd August 1989 "Let Marriage in Uganda Wait a bit Longer" recommending later age at first marriage and lower bridewealth charges.

-Matembe, M.R.K. (1989c) "Uganda's Women Are Like Cow Dung". In The Weekly Topic, 24th August 1989, Kampala.

- Lwanga-Lunyiigo - 22nd December 1989 "On the Financing of Makerere",illustrating economic and institutional inequalities.

- Ddungu Muyunga - 30th March 1990 "Being a Teacher is Choosing Poverty" - demonstrating ineffective teachers' salaries.

- Waibale P. Snr. - 24th August 1990 - "Women Should Reject Makerere's Sectarian Insult", objecting to positive discrimination in favour of women at Makerere University.

Nyero, A. 23th September 1990 "1.5 Points Emphasizes Women's Inferiority" - against positive discrimination, as above.

Obbo, G. - 28th September 1990 "Schools: The Poor Have No Choice" - on high costs of boarding schools.

- Muwanga-Bayego, H. - 12th October 1990 "Education: Poor Standards and Empty Promises" - survey of disparities in school quality.

- Sensasi, B. - 26th October 1990 - "Parents Forgive Rapist Headmaster for his Good Deeds" - defilement not taken seriously.

- Kiberu, J. 2nd November 1990 "Women Speak about Gender Scale System" - protesting against positive discrimination.

- Waibale, P. Snr. 15th February 1991 "Why Not Scrap These Illegal PTAs?" - complaining against PTA increased school charges.

- Lugalambi, G.W. 1st March 1991 "Old Schools Dominate 'O' Level - an analysis of UCE 1990 examination results.

- Katebalirwe Amooti wa Ilumba 1st March 1991 "Makerere Never For the Masses" - illustrating elitist nature of Makerere.
- Kapkwomey F. - 15th March 1991 "Girls Hurt Most by Education Decline" - analysis of PLE results and how poor standards affect girls in rural areas.

- Lugalambi, G.W. - 29th March 1991 "Why Uganda's Rich Favour Boarding Schools" - assessment of achievements and shortcomings of boarding schools.

- Lugalambi, G.W. - "Makerere 1.5 Scheme Kills Female Confidence" attempts to demonstrate the negative effects of positive discrimination.(25th October 1991)

Weiner, G. and Arnot M. (1987). Gender Under Scrutiny New Inquiries in Education. The Open University and Century Hutchinson Ltd. Milton Keynes.

Wheeler, D. (1984) Human Resource Policies, Economic Growth, and Demographic Change in Developing Countries. Clarendon Press Oxford, U.R.

Williams, G. (1984) "The Economic Approach". in Clark, B.R. (ed) (1984) Perspectives on Higher Education. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Williams, G. and Gordon, A. (1981) "Perceived Earnings Functions and Ex Ante Rates of Return to Post Compulsory Education in England". in Higher Education, Vol. 10. pp.199-227.

Williamson, B. (1986. "Who Has Access?" in A Degree of Choice: Education After Eighteen. Finch, J. and Rustin, M. (eds), Penguin Books, England.

Wolfe, B. L. and Behrman R. (1984) "Who is Schooled in Developing Countries? The Roles of Income, Parental Schooling, Sex, Residence and Family Size." in Economics of Education Review, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp 231-245, 1984 Pergaman Journals Ltd. U.K.

Wolff, L. (1984) Controlling the Costs of Education in Eastern Africa: A review of Data, Issues and Policies. World Bank Staff Working Paper - No. 7022. The World Bank. Washington D.C.

Wollstonecraft, M. (1975), A Vindication of the Rights of Woman, edited by Poston, C.H., W.W. Norton, New York.

Women in Development Consultancy Services Ltd. (1986). "Women and Education in Uganda". Manuscript.

Women in Development, Youth and Culture, Ministry of (1992a) "Guidelines for Gender Oriented Policy Development", Office of Commissioner for Women in Development, Kampala .

Women in Development, Youth and Culture, Ministry of (1992b) "Literacy for Women in Development: An Action Plan". Kampala .

Woodhall, M. (1972) Economic Aspects of Education: A Review of Research in Britain. National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales. (NFER Publishing Company Ltd.)

Woodhall, M. (1973) "The Economic Returns to Investment in Women's Education". in Higher Education No. 2, (1973) 275 - 300. Alsevier Scientific Publishing Company. (Amsterdam.

Woodhall, M. (1987a) "Earnings and Education", In Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Woodhall, M. (1987b) "Human Capital Concepts" In Psacharopoulos, G. (ed) (1987) Economics of Education Research and Studies, Pergamon Press, Oxford.

World Bank (1979) Ability in Pre-Schoolers, Earnings, and Home-Environment. Staff Working Paper No. 322. Washington, D.C.

World Bank (1986) Financing Education in Developing Countries: An Exploration of Policy Options. Washington D.C.

World Bank Policy Study, (1988). Education in Sub-Saharan Africa: Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion. World Bank, Washington D.C.

World Bank, (1989 a). Kenya: The Role of Women in Economic Development. The World Bank, Washington D.C.

World Bank. (1989 b). Sub-Saharan Africa: From Crisis to Sustainable Growth. A Long Term Perspective Study. A World Bank Publication, Washington D.C.

World Bank, (1989 (WID). Women in Development: Issues for Economic and Sector Analysis. Paper: WPS 269 by the Women in Development Division. Washington D.C.

World Bank, (1990 a). Poverty. (World Development Indicators). Oxford University Press.

World Bank, (1990 b). Women in Development: A Progress Report on the World Bank Initiative. The World Bank, Washington D.C.

World Bank, (1991). The Challenge of Development (World Development Indicators) Oxford University Press.

World University Service. (1987). "Women's Education and the British Aid Program. Seminar Report, World University Service, London.

Worsley, P. (ed) (1987). Introducing Sociology. (3rd Edition), Penguin Books, London.

Yesufu, T.M. (1973) Creating the African University: Emerging Issues in the 1970s. Oxford University Press, Ibadan.

Young, K. (ed) (1989) Serving Two Masters: Third World Women in Development. Allied Publishers Limited, Ahmedabad, India .

Young, K. (ed) (1988) Women and Economic Development. (Local, Regional and National Planning Strategies). UNESCO, Paris.

Young, K., Wolkowitz, C. and McCullagh, R. (eds) (1984) Of Marriage and the Market (Women's Subordination Internationally and its Lessons) . Routledge, London .

Zedriga, C.D.B. (1980) "The Concept of Bridewealth Among the Lugbara". Research paper for the B.A. degree in Social Work and Social Administration, Makerere University, Kampala.